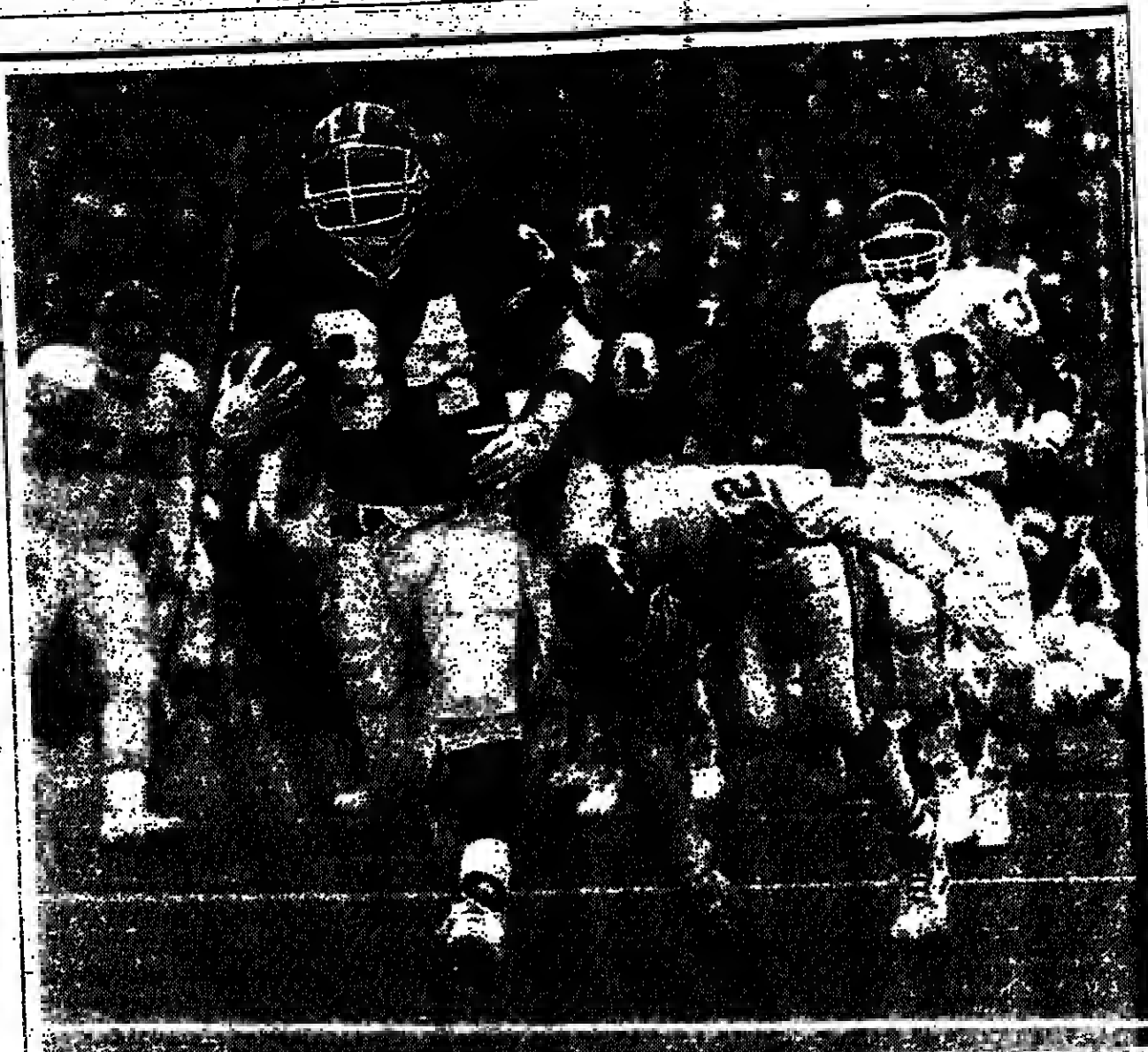


# Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

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**BILLS BACK IN THE SUPER BOWL** — Thurman Thomas of Buffalo scoring a touchdown against Kansas City in the American Football Conference final. Joe Montana of the Chiefs was hurt in the third quarter, and the Bills capitalized, 30-13. Page 17.

## World Money Markets See a Storm Brewing On the Eastern Horizon

By Carl Gewirtz  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Financial markets are bracing for turbulence this week, with a weak Japanese equity market at the vortex.

Trading in Tokyo could set the mood for what happens in Europe, where prices of stocks and bonds appear vulnerable. U.S. markets are seen least exposed to upset, but even there uncertainty is increasing.

The prospective turbulence is driven by this uncertainty. In Japan, it is fear that the government's inability to implement political reform will stall plans to revive the economy. In Europe, it is worry that the Bundesbank's pause in lowering interest rates will delay Continental recovery.

In the United States, where blue-chip stock prices rose to a record Friday, it is concern about how the California earthquake and East Coast cold spell will affect first-quarter growth, the timing of the expected increase in interest rates and prospective corporate earnings.

"It could be a difficult week," cautions George Magnus at S.G. Warburg in London. News of the political impasse in Tokyo came after share trading in the cash market had ended Friday, but options prices tumbled nearly 4 percent. "There's little doubt the opening in Tokyo Monday will be bad," says Simon Crane, a London-based trading adviser. "The question is, does it stay bad?"

The worry about a meltdown in Tokyo is acute because only two months remain until the end of the Japanese financial year on March 31. The feared consequence for markets elsewhere is that the year-end closing may force Japanese institutional investors to take profits on foreign holdings to offset domestic losses.

Regardless of what the Japanese do, Continental markets are looking fragile. Both bond and equity prices have factored in an accelerat-

ing decline in German interest rates, which the Bundesbank last week indicated are now on hold. Some analysts fear that the pause could extend to March; they see the central bank stymied by temporary distortions pushing up money supply growth and the January cost of living index as well as by the weakness of the Deutsche mark.

The selloff Friday in the German government bond futures market is seen as an omen of weakness in European bond markets this week. A big concern is that a substantial amount of this year's heavy volume of new issues in many European markets is still in the hands of underwriters, whose short-term financing costs exceed the income earned on holding the paper. If the price of the paper starts falling, intermediaries may decide it is cheaper to eat their losses and dump their holdings.

The performance of the dollar could also play a role. U.S. investors were reported to be large sellers of DM paper, repatriating funds in anticipation of an incipient increase in U.S. interest rates and a rise in the value of the dollar. But the natural upsets in America last week, although difficult to measure accurately, may alter that outlook.

"It's difficult to get a handle on the impact of the earthquake and cold snap," says Susan M. Hering at Salomon Brothers in New York. "There will be a short-term hit to output. January's data will be hit hard. But how it balances out for the full first quarter is unclear."

This is important for the currency market. Even enthusiasts of a strong dollar advance such as Paul Chertkov at Union Bank of Switzerland agree that "a tightening by the Fed is the key to the dollar's next leg up."

The dollar traded oddly Friday, weakening against the yen and the mark during most of the day.

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## U.S. Demands That Japan Give Way in Trade Talks

Hosokawa, Under Fire At Home, Gets a Tough Message From Bentsen

By Paul Blustein and Clay Chandler  
Washington Post Service

TOKYO — Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen warned Japan's embattled prime minister, Morihiro Hosokawa, on Sunday that the United States would re-examine its trade policy toward Japan unless the two nations reached "credible" trade agreements by their Feb. 11 summit meeting.

Mr. Bentsen's remarks, which came two days after Mr. Hosokawa's government plunged into political crisis, put the Clinton administration on record as insisting on significant trade concessions from Tokyo regardless of the problems facing the prime minister.

Mr. Bentsen's warning, delivered personally at President Bill Clinton's request, appears to have put U.S.-Japanese relations on a collision course in the weeks ahead. Rather than play down expectations for the upcoming session between Mr. Hosokawa and Mr. Clinton, the Treasury chief raised the stakes.

He dismissed suggestions that Washington would ease pressure on Mr. Hosokawa over the terms of several trade pacts aimed at increasing Japanese purchases of foreign autos, auto parts, telecommunications equipment and other products. The pacts are scheduled to be finalized soon under deadlines set in the "framework" agreement that Washington and Tokyo struck in July, establishing broad principles governing their economic relationship.

"We want a good set of agreements," Mr. Bentsen said. "We would far prefer no agreements to weak agreements."

"If we do not have credible agreements by the time of the summit," he said, "we would have to re-examine the basis of the framework." Asked if he was making a threat, Mr. Bentsen said he did not intend to, and was simply reflecting "the realities of the situation."

But the tenor of his comments was striking, given the warm endorsements that Mr. Clinton and other administration officials have extended to Mr. Hosokawa since he took office.

Mr. Hosokawa, a champion of deregulation and foe of corruption whose seven-party coalition displaced the Liberal Democratic Party from power last August, suffered a devastating defeat in parliament on Friday of electoral reform legislation upon which he had staked his political career.

Although Mr. Bentsen did not suggest that the administration had given up on Mr. Hosokawa, his remarks contained no words of encouragement, and his expressions of sympathy for the prime minister's plight were limited. Mr. Hosokawa "has his work before him" in trying to gain approval of a compromise political reform bill, he said.

Mr. Bentsen said Mr. Clinton had asked him to add the visit to Tokyo to the end of a lengthy trip to Russia and Asia in order to drive home the importance that the White House places on the trade issue.

Even before Mr. Hosokawa's recent setback, many trade experts believed it likely that the trade agreements reached at the Feb. 11 meeting would involve fuzzy worded compromises, allowing both sides to claim victory and avoiding a damaging rupture in relations.

But Mr. Bentsen's comments, and similar remarks made by other American officials in private, leave the administration little room for such fudging.

"We are not going to accept a nonagreement and characterize it as something," said an American diplomat based in Tokyo. "We are insisting on real progress here. If there is no progress, it will be there for the world to see."

According to Japanese news reports, Mr. Hosokawa told Mr. Bentsen that he hoped "to apply leadership, making efforts to improve" the outcome of the trade talks.

But the prime minister has publicly sided with Trade Ministry officials on the issue that most sharply divides Washington and Tokyo — the U.S. demand that commercial targets be set for Japanese imports of foreign goods and services.

American and Japanese negotiators have been locked in a seemingly intractable dispute over the issue for months. Japanese officials, who once agreed to a pact envisioning a 20 percent share of the Japanese market for foreign computer chips, vow they will never again strike such an accord because it would be in opposition to free trade.

## Bosnian Muslims, Stronger Militarily, Vow to Retake 'Cleansed' Lands

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Service

GENEVA — The Muslim-led Bosnian government has put United Nations and European peace negotiators on notice that it intends to take back by armed force what talks have failed to restore: the Muslim-majority lands that were "ethnically cleansed" by warring Bosnian Serbs and Croats.

The Bosnian government, which has been in control of all lands where Muslims were in a majority before, said Rasim Delic, commander of the Muslim-led Bosnian Army, in an interview here.

The new determination to reject any peace proposal that does not include formerly Muslim lands and to continue fighting to retake them has presented the United Nations and the European Union with a dilemma.

Bosnian Chief says the political will is lacking for a solution in Bosnia. Q&A, Page 6.

Delic said the Bosnian government is not interested in a "cease-fire" or "non-aggression" pact with the Serbs and Croats. He said the Bosnian government is not interested in a "cease-fire" or "non-aggression" pact with the Serbs and Croats.

European Union with the agonizing dilemma of whether to abandon their peace-making and

humanitarian relief efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The militant Bosnian stance stems from a dramatic change in the battlefield fortunes of the once raging Muslim-dominated Bosnian Army. Long the main victims and losers in the 21-month-old three-way civil war, the Muslims have begun turning the tables on their Serbian and Croatian adversaries.

Despite an arms embargo that has hurt them far more than the other two Bosnian factions, the Muslims' military performance has improved in the last six months to the point where

they are taking on both the Bosnian Croatian and Serbian forces at the same time.

Officially, the Bosnians continued to reaffirm their commitment to the peace plan proposed by the European Union in November. It calls for carving up Bosnia into three ethnically based entities. Precisely 33.3 percent of the country would go for a Muslim majority republic, 33.3 percent for a Serb majority and 33.3 percent for a Croat majority.

The Bosnians contend that this division is still less than the 43.7 percent of the 4.3

million population that Muslims constituted before the war. Serbs, who made up 31.4 percent of the prewar population, counter that Muslims, predominantly urban dwellers, did not live on 43 percent of Bosnia's territory. The Croats' prewar population equals their proposed slice of the country: roughly 17 percent.

The Serbs hold more than 70 percent of Bosnia and have agreed to give up about 20 percent of the territory they control. The latest European Union peace formula demands only that the Serbs provide the Muslims with one-third of

See BOSNIA, Page 8

## Peres Says Accord With PLO Is Close

By Clyde Haberman  
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said Sunday that Israel was "fairly close" to breaking the stalemate that has kept it from implementing its agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization on Palestinian self-rule for the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

But there was no such optimism about a quick breakthrough in peace talks with Syria, which after a suspension of more than four months are scheduled to resume Monday at a clandestine location in Washington.

Mr. Peres's remarks about the Palestinians

followed his meeting in Oslo on Saturday with Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman, and were the most hopeful public assessment offered by a senior official here in many weeks.

Although he declined to go into details, he told an Israel Radio interviewer, "We are at the heart of negotiations, and I think we are fairly close to an agreement."

The foreign minister is a conspicuous optimist in Israel's negotiations with the Palestinians and neighboring Arab states, and some of his past forecasts of imminent breakthroughs have turned out to be premature. But even Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, a man given to dour pronouncements, sounded more upbeat than he had about resolving a dispute over

security arrangements. It has now delayed by six weeks the scheduled start of an Israeli troop withdrawal and transfer of civil authority in Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho.

"I think Israel's insistence on security is starting to have results," Mr. Rabin said. Other officials predicted that by next weekend, when Mr. Peres and Mr. Arafat are supposed to meet again at an international economics gathering in Davos, Switzerland, troublesome details will have been worked out.

The heart of the matter is the size of the autonomous Jericho district and control over the border crossings between Gaza and Egypt.

See MIDEAST, Page 8

## China Believed Set to Free 3 Detainees

By Daniel Southard  
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — The Chinese authorities have told a U.S. businessman and human rights advocate that they will release at least three prominent Chinese political prisoners within the next few weeks, apparently in reaction to U.S. demands for human rights progress.

John Kamm, a businessman based in Hong Kong who visits China frequently to press for the release of prisoners, said he had not been given the names of any of the prisoners to be freed but had been assured that they would be selected from the leading cases that he and U.S. officials had raised previously with the Chinese.

Mr. Kamm said he assumed that China's foreign minister, Qian Qichen, would give the names to the U.S. secretary of state, Warren M. Christopher, when the two meet in Paris on Monday.

Although Mr. Christopher and Mr. Qian are expected to discuss a full range of issues, Beijing's human rights record is likely to top Mr. Christopher's concerns. Within the next four months, President Bill Clinton must decide whether to renew China's normal trading status with the United States, and he will base his decision partly on China's progress in human rights.

Mr. Kamm also said he had been told by Chinese public security officials as well as offi-

cials from another group under the State Council in Beijing that Chinese authorities had prepared a list describing the status of more than 130 prisoners in response to U.S. queries concerning their situation.

John Shattuck, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights, had given the Chinese a list of 235 names of prisoners who concerned the United States in October. But the Chinese told Mr. Kamm they were unable to identify about 100 of them.

They also told him that of the remaining people on the list, numbering more than 130, about 40 had been given prison sentences.

See CHINA, Page 8

## In the Philippines, Fake-but-Real Guns

By William Branigan  
Washington Post Service

DANAO, Philippines — Joaquin Capoy proudly displayed his wares on a coffee table in his living room: a shiny U.S. Army Colt .45-caliber pistol and a heavy Smith & Wesson .357 six-shot revolver.

They looked authentic enough. But the two weapons and assorted other models shown to a visitor had been made from scrap metal in a crude workshop behind Mr. Capoy's house here on the island of Cebu, in the central Philippines. The barrels had been fashioned out of thick steel pins from a junked bulldozer, crafted into working chrome-plated handguns by Fili-

pino employees and finally engraved with U.S. markings.

Mr. Capoy, 51, is one of thousands of underground gunsmiths who turn out copies, ranging from 22-caliber derringers to Thompson sub-machine guns. Although illegal, the business has flourished here for nearly half a century and attracts customers from all over the region, including gangsters from Taiwan and Japan.

Now the Philippine secretary of local government, Rafael Alunan 3d, is proposing a new approach to the illicit industry: to legalize it.

Mr. Alunan argues that organizing the estimated 5,000 gunsmiths in Danao into a legal "cooperative" would help control gunrunning and reduce the number of unregistered firearms in the country.

"The best thing to do is to legalize the illegal but very skilled gun traders so they can produce guns for export and even earn dollars as well as reduce the importation of firearms," Mr. Alunan said in Manila. He expressed hope that the gun makers could eventually set up ventures with major U.S. manufacturers.

The idea appeals Philippine gun-control advocates and puzzles even senior police officials. Although the gun makers say they favor legalization, the police say they do not really want the sort of controls that this would entail.

Behind the debate is a pervasive gun culture that Filipinos say was inherited from the United States, the colonial power during the first half of this century.

The prevalence of guns has helped give Manila the highest murder rate among major Asian cities, according to a 1991 study by the Washington-based Population Crisis Committee.

Manila's 30.5 murders a year per 100,000 inhabitants contrasts with Taipei's, at 8.7; Bangkok's, at 7.6; Beijing's, at 2.5; and Tokyo's, at 1.4, according to the study. The Washington murder rate, the highest of major U.S. cities, is about 79 per 100,000.

"In the United States, there are so many good things we can imitate," lamented Reynaldo Padeco, a leading gun-control activist. "Why in heaven's name should we imitate the 'gun culture' of the United States?"

American gun culture, an admirer of Martin Luther King Jr. and promoter of "active nonviolence," it heads the Campaign for a Gunless Society. It has collected more than 1.2 million signatures on a petition calling for a ban on the carrying of guns in public places by anyone except uniformed security forces and certain undercover government agents.

That goal has aroused stiff opposition. A bill

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Lloyd Bentsen, on Sunday in Tokyo, explaining Washington's hard-line stance on trade.

### Kiosk

#### 35 Colombians Killed At a Political Rally

BOGOTA (AP) — Suspected leftist guerrillas fired automatic weapons at a gathering of political rivals in northwest Colombia on Sunday, killing at least 35 people and wounding 8, officials said.

Ramon Gil, acting defense minister, said that the attack in the Apartado region occurred after the victims, members of the Hope, Peace and Freedom Party, held a rally to gain support for national elections.

Mr. Gil said the gunmen were members of the Colombian Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, which backs the Communists and other parties that risk losing control over the region.

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## Austria President Caught In Not-So-Private Affair

Reuter

VIENNA — President Thomas Klestil of Austria, under pressure to choose between his mistress and his job, promised Sunday to sort out his personal problems and end a growing scandal.

Mr. Klestil's wife, Edith, left him earlier this month because of his relationship with Margot Löffler, 39, an aide who works with the Foreign Ministry.

"My private problems have not become easier," he told the newspaper Neue Kronen-Zeitung on Sunday. "But it is in my very own best interest to solve them quickly."

Mr. Klestil, 61, a career diplomat allied to the conservative Austrian People's Party, was elected president in 1992, replacing Kurt Waldheim.

Reports of the split between the president

and his wife did not surface publicly until Mr. Klestil admitted last week that his wife had moved out after 37 years of marriage.

A day later, photographs of Miss Löffler were carried on the front pages and state-run television took up the story.

Miss Löffler served as a diplomat in Moscow and Bangkok in the 1980s. There are now suggestions that she be given another foreign posting.

"Thomas Klestil must decide," said Maria Graff, a People's Party member. "Either he wants to enjoy private life with his female colleague or continue in office."

She said Mr. Klestil had won the presidency by using his wife to portray himself as a happy family man. "Which was not true."

"This was a dirty trick to play on the

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Newsstand Prices	
Andorra	9.00 FF
Antilles	11.20 FF
Armenia	1.40 CFA
Belgium	11.20 FF
Egypt	9.00 FF
France	9.00 FF
Gabon	9.00 CFA
Greece	300 Dr.
Ivory Coast	1.120 CFA
Jordan	1 JD
Lebanon	1.50 U.S. \$
Luxembourg	48 L. Fr.
Morocco	12 Dh
Qatar	8.00 Rials
Rubion	11.20 FF
Saudi Arabia	9.00 R.
Senegal	9.00 CFA
Spain	200 Ptas
Tunisia	1.000 Din
Turkey	1.120 Liras
U.A.E.	5.50 Dirh
U.S. \$	1.10



## Seeking to Bridge the Divide in a Transitional Hong Kong

By Kevin Murphy  
International Herald Tribune

**HONG KONG** — For a politician yet to face his first election, 40 may seem old enough. But not necessarily by Chinese standards, as Henry Tang Ying-yen, a wealthy Hong Kong legislator and businessman, well knows.

"My father, who is 70, jokes that when he goes to Beijing, they call him 'young man,'" said Mr. Tang, an appointed member of the colony's Legislative Council. His father's role on the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee brings him into contact with Communists in their 80s and 90s who survived the Long March and Mao Zedong.

"I'm a baby to the Chinese hierarchy," the younger Mr. Tang noted. "I may have some problems because of that."

Many political observers believe he will wield increasing influence as Hong Kong heads for a return to Chinese sovereignty in 1997. Meanwhile, he must run for the first time to keep his council seat in the 1995 elections.

Like his father, Henry Tang is in textiles and politics. But unlike his father, who rebuilt in Hong Kong a Shanghai-area family business that was seized by Communists in 1949, Mr. Tang has chosen the limelight and electoral politics.

No one, including Henry Tang, knows exactly where that choice will lead.

Part of a generation of Western-educated Asian business leaders for whom success goes beyond the bottom line and politics means more than golf with the right people, Mr. Tang hopes to combine the best of two worlds in public policy. That will not be easy in a Hong Kong where Chinese-British feuding over details of the colony's handover is forcing people to choose sides.

The way Mr. Tang sees it, there is a third side: Hong Kong's. He has chosen to support it with a business-with-a-conscience conservatism that neither laments Britain's departure nor kowtows to Beijing.

"Of all the conservative legislators, Henry Tang is the only one who bothers maintaining relationships with his liberal rivals," said a staff member of the United Democrats of Hong Kong party. "He is very much an independent thinker and a reasonable man."

Since his appointment to the Legislative Council

in 1991, Mr. Tang spends only half his time managing Peninsula Knitters Ltd., the family textile and electronics manufacturing company, which is expanding rapidly in China.

It was the late 1970s when Mr. Tang's father asked him to return from his studies in the United States and begin helping him manage the business as it took the daring step of investing in China at the end of the Cultural Revolution, the mass terror launched by Mao Zedong in 1966 to radicalize society. The campaign virtually closed China to the world before it ended with his death in 1976.

Among the first wave of Hong Kong investors willing to risk their money in China after nearly 30

### Up and Coming

An occasional series about the leaders of tomorrow.

years of limited business contact, Peninsula Knitters has profited both financially and in terms of guanxi, or political connections essential to business success there.

The group owns a third of Shanghai United Textile Holdings, a joint venture that was first listed on the Shanghai Stock Exchange in 1992. The younger Mr. Tang was nominated to sit on Shanghai's Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee, which has much political status but little policymaking clout and offers a smaller role than his father enjoys on the national committee.

Back in his Hong Kong political forum, Mr. Tang works in tighter regulations on workers' health and safety, lobbies for a government-supported pension plan for the colony and supports measures that threaten to disrupt Hong Kong's love affair with laissez-faire economics.

"Although I am from the business sector, I want to do more than merely protect what I already have," said Mr. Tang, who has a degree in sociology from the University of Michigan and did graduate work at Yale. "We have to be willing to share the fruits of prosperity with everyone else that has made it possible."

He is not setting out to redistribute wealth in Hong Kong — an idea supported by his liberal rivals in the Legislative Council — but he expects the



As Britain and China feud, Henry Tang looks out for Hong Kong in its last years as a colony.

government to make tough decisions for the common good.

For example, Mr. Tang recently dissociated himself from his own political group, the Liberal Party, when it supported a group of public housing tenants who refused to allow a home for the mentally disabled into their neighborhood.

"If a large housing project rejects these people, where do we settle them?" he asked. "The position wasn't right or practical."

For all his policies and feelings, he has a first date with the ballot box next year. Few are able to predict how he will do.

"He has a good intellect and he's done well as a legislator, but he won't really be a politician until he wins an election," said T. L. Tsim, a political analyst here. "We will have to see another side of Henry."

The 1995 election probably will focus squarely on relations with China. Once again, Mr. Tang's views attempt to cross the divide.

"Our society has become more prosperous," he said. "We have reached a level where we want to go after more ideological changes. We want more representative government, and we want a stronger voice in determining what to do with our society."

How then does he justify his strong opposition to electoral reforms proposed by Governor Chris Patten that seek to deepen Hong Kong's voting base for the last elections under British rule? Did his support for Western ideals within China, a source of wealth for Peninsula Knitters, signal his opposition?

No, argues Mr. Tang, who supported a legislative motion to discuss Mr. Patten's electoral proposals while his pro-Beijing colleagues voted against the measure.

"Without a hope of becoming independent, we just move from being a British colony to a Chinese colony," Mr. Tang warned. "As long as we have an executive-led government, it will never be democratic. And as long as we are not a sovereign state, we will never have a say on what we want to have in our future."

"Once I accept that fact, it is my duty to think in a responsible manner. And that means we have to cooperate with China."

This stance is typical of many people in Hong Kong who have profited from the economic and social freedoms granted by colonial rule, yet believe that accommodation rather than confrontation with China will more likely protect what they possess.

"If we were to go our own way by implementing the Patten proposals without Beijing's agreement, we give the Chinese a carte blanche to come in and change the system in whatever way they want after 1997," Mr. Tang said. "I don't want to give them the opportunity."

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Heavy Fighting Reported in Kabul

**PESHAWAR, Pakistan (Reuters)** — There were heavy clashes in the Afghan capital, Kabul, on Sunday when rebel forces launched an offensive against troops loyal to President Burhanuddin Rabbani, Afghan sources in Pakistan said.

Places controlled by General Abdul Rashid Dostum supported the assault and bombed positions held by Mr. Rabbani's forces in the south of the city, the sources said.

They said the air attack coincided with rocket and artillery barrages and heavy fighting between Mr. Rabbani's troops and forces loyal to Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

### Algerian Violence Claims 2 Lives

**ALGIERS (AFP)** — Algerian violence claimed two more lives on Sunday as protesters demonstrated against killings and the government made final plans for a national conference in the face of a threatened boycott by political parties.

Officials said a Tunisian national, Raymond Louzoum, 62, an optician who had run a shop in central Algiers for more than 30 years, was slain by unidentified killers. It was not clear whether Mr. Louzoum was the victim of Islamic fundamentalists. A taxi driver, Rabah Khodja, died of wounds suffered when his car was sprayed with machine-gun fire Jan. 9, an attack linked to an armed Islamic group.

Meanwhile, a government commission charged with preparing for a "national consensus conference" met with Algeria's collegial presidency two days before the planned start of the conference, an official said. No details of the outcome were given.

### Scandal Shakes Up Belgian Cabinet

**BRUSSELS (AP)** — Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene shuffled his government Sunday as investigations into corruption allegations against leading politicians continued.

Mr. Dehaene appointed Elio di Rupo as the new deputy prime minister and minister for communications. He replaced Guy Spitaels, who resigned Friday over accusations of involvement in a bribery scandal involving the Italian aircraft manufacturer Agusta S.p.A. and other leading politicians who resigned over the scandal also were replaced.

On Saturday, Mr. Dehaene's office announced that the four parties in his coalition government wanted to maintain the alliance. The resignations had fueled speculation that the Socialists would pull out.

### Brandt Widow Hints at a Second Spy

**BONN (Reuters)** — The widow of Willy Brandt, the former West German chancellor and Social Democratic leader, says that her husband suspected that a second East German spy might have been involved in his fall from power in 1974.

Brigitte Seebacher-Brandt, in an interview with the Bild newspaper to be published Monday, said Mr. Brandt suspected that his traitorous aide, Günter Guillaume, let himself be unmasked in order to hide a second, undetected Communist agent in the chancellery. He wondered whether Guillaume had actually unmasked himself to cover a second agent who could go on spying, Mrs. Seebacher-Brandt, 47, told Bild.

She gave no proof of this, but said the full 43 pages of Mr. Brandt's notes on the Guillaume case, written soon after his resignation in 1974, would be published this week.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### Northwest and KLM Offer Fare Cuts

**MINNEAPOLIS (Bloomberg)** — Northwest Airlines and KLM Royal Dutch Airlines have announced lower Atlantic fare cuts as much as 30 percent for travel between April 1 and Oct. 31. Tickets are nonrefundable, and must be purchased by Feb. 11 for travel to India, the Middle East and Africa, and by Feb. 28 for travel to Europe.

Passengers can turn their round-trip between Detroit and Paris for as little as \$638 and between Minneapolis and London for as little as \$598. Round-trips from San Francisco to Amsterdam will cost as little as \$758 and from New York to Bombay as little as \$1,258.

Russian air-traffic controllers have threatened a strike to press claims for better working conditions. Interfax news agency reported. The dispute would be set within a month if the government refused to consider demands for an independent air-traffic control system. (Reuters)

### This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

WEDNESDAY: Australia, Dominican Republic, India, Uganda.

THURSDAY: Monaco, Sri Lanka.

FRIDAY: Indonesia.

SATURDAY: Nepal.

Sources: J.P. Morgan, Reuters.

## Health Care Overshadows All as Congress Returns to Work

By Adam Clymer  
New York Times Service

**WASHINGTON** — The House and the Senate return to work on Tuesday expecting to be judged on how they deal with health care, the biggest domestic issue Congress has confronted in three decades.

It may even prove to be the most complicated task that Congress has ever faced, involving far more

crosscurrents than the civil-rights bills of the 1960s or the economic measures of the New Deal.

Before the issue actually comes to the floor in either house, it must make its way past scores of conflicting interest groups like the elderly, the hospitals and various factions of the insurance industry, and through five major congressional committees.

Otherwise, the second session of

the 103d Congress faces a daunting agenda that might claim a place in history on its own. But this year the other issues are likely to remain in the shadow of health care.

Congressional leaders and President Bill Clinton had promised to pass major "reforms" in the way the government deals with welfare, crime, banking, telecommunications, foreign aid, job training and federal aid to education.

With the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll showing that only 30 percent of the public approves of how Congress is doing its job, leaders hope to ease those doubts with legislation on campaign financing, some reorganization of the way Congress does its business and perhaps more trimming of the federal budget.

But after last year's budget bill from the total that can be spent on all programs requiring annual appropriations, this summer's rerun of the annual spending battles will be even more intense than usual.

The first spending dispute will come soon. Republicans, according to Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the minority leader, will demand that earthquake relief for California be offset by spending reductions elsewhere. Representative Thomas S. Foley, Washington, the House speaker, said Democrats would argue that it should be considered an "emergency" outside the regular pay-as-you-go rules.

In late February, the Senate is likely to face an extended battle over a proposed constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget. If the measure gets the necessary two-thirds vote, the House would consider it next.

As in every other even-numbered year, Congress will be legislating with directions in mind, with more grandstanding amendments and

more time off for "district work periods" and other opportunities to campaign and raise money. All 435 House seats and 34 of the 100 Senate seats will be up, and for most members, Election Day on Nov. 8 is the most important day of the year. Republicans, who have 175 representatives and 44 senators, expect modest gains in each house.

An increasingly partisan tone can be expected as Election Day nears, but Republicans are wary of leaving Democrats with their own division with accusations of Republican obstructionism.

"We don't have any gridlock plan," Senator Dole said.

It seems unlikely that last year's absolute partitioning of budget votes, when no Republicans voted with Mr. Clinton, will be repeated.

There will be, especially on health care, an open question. In the more partisan House, it seems unlikely that more than a handful of Republican votes can be found for any plan reauthorizing Mr. Clinton's health insurance that employs pay for most of their workers' health insurance and that each state set up insurance purchasing cooperatives to negotiate with insurance companies.

Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, the deputy Republican leader, said that if Mr. Clinton was

willing to compromise and work for "a health solution that is in the center and involves personal responsibility more than bureaucracy," he might obtain significant Republican backing. But that could cost the president many of the 93 House Democrats who already pre-empted a program to the left of his, the "single payer" plan that would have the government and not the insurance companies pay the bills.

Mr. Foley said health care prospects might depend on what lawmakers heard in their districts, "whether members come back with a sense of urgency."

He predicted that legislators would spend more time than usual listening to each other when they return this week.

While most congressional leaders support major health care legislation to be passed, none will offer a road map to enactment. And some worry that Congress will fail to agree on any bill at all, as public opinion shifts.

A Times/CBS News Poll of 1,146 adults, conducted by telephone from Jan. 15 through 17, showed that 56 percent of the public expected failure and only 39 percent predicted success.

"If by some unfortunate fact, we do not pass it," Mr. Dingell said, then Democrats should be ready to turn the 1994 election into a referendum on the health-care issue.

## French Foreign Policy: Tied Up in Politics at Home

By William Drozdiak  
Washington Post Service

**PARIS** — When Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher calls on French leaders on Monday to sort through the long agenda of French-American relations, he may be excused if he has a hard time deciphering the varieties of French foreign policy.

Despite an overwhelming 80 percent majority in Parliament, the conservative government of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur is rapidly evolving into a fractious house of warring factions and ambitions. Just as French asked about women, a frequent question raised these days by diplomats, journalists and government officials them-

selves is this: What do the French want?

Behind all of the issues that Mr. Christopher may want to discuss with his hosts — such issues as Bosnia, Russia, Iran, Algeria, Chi-

### NEWS ANALYSIS

na and the Middle East — lurk aspects of domestic political intrigue that, in some cases, have acquired even more weight than purely national interests.

With the next French presidential race 15 months away, the jockeying for power has already reached a fever pitch within the governing coalition. François Mitterrand, meanwhile, the Socialist president whose second seven-year term ends in 1995, has projected a bemused Olympian calm as he watches (not without delight, say his aides) the political jousting on the right.

Mr. Balladur's ardor to succeed Mr. Mitterrand has embittered the leaders of the government's two main factions: Jacques Chirac, the Gaullist chief, and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, a former president who heads the centrist Union for French Democracy. Both men lag behind Mr. Balladur in pop-

ularity ratings, largely because voters perceive them as yesterday's politicians.

Within the government, ministers are casting their lots. Defense Minister François Léotard and Social Affairs Minister Simone Veil, both centrists, have joined Mr. Giscard d'Estaing and endorsed Mr. Balladur. Foreign Minister Alain Juppé, however, has stayed loyal to Mr. Chirac, no doubt hoping to take the prime minister's job as a reward if Mr. Chirac finally gives up on his third attempt at the presidency.

The hard-line interior minister, Charles Pasqua, has feuded with Mitterrand into the Mitterrand time-field. To the chagrin of French diplomats, he has started expanding his domain into key areas of foreign policy, no doubt with the consent of Mr. Balladur as he seeks to cut Mr. Juppé down to size.

In October, Mr. Pasqua stemmed the French Foreign Ministry by allowing Saddam Hussein's deputy prime minister, Tariq Aziz, to visit France, ostensibly for medical treatment. Mr. Juppé was infuriated when Mr. Pasqua acknowledged seeing Mr. Aziz to discuss re-establishing relations, especially big-

ticket oil deals, between France and Iraq which sanctions are finally lifted against Mr. Saddam's government.

In late December, Mr. Pasqua persuaded Mr. Balladur to deport to Tehran two Iranians held in a French jail on charges of killing a prominent dissident, Kazem Rajavi, near Geneva. The Swiss government had sought their extradition and vehemently protested, as did the United States, the release of the two Iranians.

Mr. Balladur said the action was taken for reasons of "national interest" and refused any further explanation.

Barely a week later, Mr. Pasqua flew to the Western Sahara capital, El Ayoun, where he had secret talks with Saudi Arabia's foreign minister, Prince Nayef, about how to control the political threat from Muslim fundamentalist groups in North Africa.

It was the first time that a French minister set foot in the territory occupied by Morocco, whose annexation of Western Sahara has still not been recognized by the international community. French officials said the trip caused a serious diplomatic headache because it

touched off a furious outburst from Algeria, which has backed the Saharan rebels quest for independence.

Mr. Balladur, meantime, was engaged in secret diplomatic tricks of his own. He sent his own private representative, Jacques Friedmann, to Beijing over Christmas to work out a secret rapprochement with China so that French businessmen could get more favorable treatment in the world's fastest growing market. In return, France announced this month that it would halt further arms sales to Taiwan.

Mr. Juppé, who agreed with the policy shift, was nonetheless upset when he was shut out of the diplomatic limelight for the second time in a month.

But Mr. Juppé got his revenge when Mr. Balladur ended up with egg on his face on a visit to Saudi Arabia. Mr. Balladur's chief of staff, Nicolas Bazire, cut out the Foreign Ministry and took personal charge of preparing a voyage that was supposed to yield a \$5-billion harvest in arms contracts. An enraged Mr. Balladur returned home empty-handed.

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# THE AMERICAS / RE-ENACTING THE CRIME

## Big Chill In U.S. an Aberration, Experts Say

By William K. Stevens

**NEW YORK** — Weather experts see the Arctic freeze in the eastern United States this month as just a downward, localized dip in a generally warmer trend in the world's climate.

January 1994, the climate analysts say, is not likely to herald a return of the cold winters of yesterday. A January thaw that started over the weekend and is expected to go on for the next few days will consign the recent cold snap to history, forecasters say, and they do not expect the extreme cold of the last few weeks to return this year.

"In fact, it might not get this cold again for the next 25 years," Paul G. Knight, a meteorologist at the Pennsylvania State University Weather Communications Group, said last week as temperatures were plunging to record lows across much of the nation's eastern half.

The free fall into the deep freeze this month seemed all the more shocking because of the many mild winters that preceded it. Its cause was a deep dip to the south last week in the main west-to-east jet stream marking the boundary between Arctic air and the warmer air to the south. The shift allowed an entire pool of air from northern Canada to move southward across the eastern half of the country.

Now the jet stream is shifting again, forecasters say, and should move back into Canada, taking the supercold air with it.

The forecasters say the wild behavior resulted from the interplay of myriad forces. It is "difficult to ascribe it to any one factor or force within the climate system," said David Robinson, a climate expert at Rutgers University. "Simple chance could be one reason. Every once in a while, your meter comes up."

Generally, meteorologists say, an American winter is divided into two sharply different patterns, each lasting four to six weeks.

Forecasters now expect it to move into the second phase, bringing more moderate temperatures to the East and Midwest and cooler, wetter conditions to western states, where winter weather until now has been warm and dry.



**PUTTING THEIR CASE BEFORE COURT** — Anti-abortion protesters praying in front of the U.S. Supreme Court on the anniversary of its 1973 ruling legalizing abortion.

## How the Bobbitt Jury Reached a Verdict

By Patricia Davis  
and Jane Seaberry

Washington Post Staff Writer

**WASHINGTON** — In the final hours of the often-rancorous deliberations in Lorena Bobbitt's trial, as they agonized over her state of mind on the night she severed her husband's penis, the Prince William County (Virginia) jurors kept asking themselves what she must have been thinking and feeling.

They tried to place themselves in her bedroom, to imagine the moment. They decided to re-enact the crime.

A male juror played the role of Lorena and held the same 12-inch kitchen knife she had used. On a blackboard, he drew a timeline with slash marks for the events that had occurred in the 15 minutes before Lorena cut her husband as he lay sleeping.

Her husband, John Wayne Bobbitt, was a paper cup.

Was it an act of irresistible impulse, as defense attorneys argued? The jurors listened, again and again, to the statement Lorena gave to the police about how her husband had earlier raped her.

"The more we did, we realized that this was not a person who was acting in a sane manner," one juror, Jeanne Elmore, 42, said over the weekend. "You could see as we were reading her words, the emotion building."

Ms. Elmore and four other jurors who were interviewed said the re-

enactment was a turning point in reaching the verdict that the 24-year-old woman was not guilty of malicious wounding by reason of temporary insanity.

Mrs. Bobbitt could have gone to prison for up to 20 years for cutting off her husband's penis last June. Instead, she was taken from a courthouse in Manassas, Virginia, to a state hospital in Petersburg, Virginia, for psychiatric evaluation.

Although all 12 jurors did not agree on exactly when Mrs. Bobbitt snapped, in the end they were unanimous in saying that she did.

"We felt she'd been really abused, a victim," one juror said. "Unfortunately, over a period of time, most of us would be able to react in a more rational way."

"We didn't feel she was strong enough," the juror said. "She had been stripped of everything at that point."

"In my mind in a way," Ms. Elmore said, "she went after what threatened her most."

The jurors said they had no trouble believing the crux of the defense team's case. Mrs. Bobbitt, they concluded, was raped by her 26-year-old husband in the early morning hours of June 23 and then suffered a brief breakdown brought on by years of abuse.

No one witness or incident convinced them of this. Rather, it was the litany of beatings, verbal threats, sodomy and rape that they heard during the two-week trial.

The couple's friends testified to this abuse, as did psychiatrists appearing for the prosecution and defense and Mrs. Bobbitt, herself.

"I believe John raped her over the course of the years he was with her," said one male juror. "I think pretty much every time they had sex he raped her."

The juror or said Mr. Bobbitt's acquittal in November on a charge of marital sexual assault was no secret to the jury. It was innately mentioned in the jury room, he said, but was given no weight during the seven and a half hours of deliberations last Thursday and Friday.

"I know that if that jury had heard what we heard, he would have gone to jail," he said.

In fact, those interviewed said they believed that Mr. Bobbitt, a witness for the prosecution, actually did more to help the defense team. "I thought he was basically a liar," Ms. Elmore said.

Said another female juror: "There was nothing positive about him. As far as his testimony, none of us got a good feeling about him."

### Away From Politics

• Aerial spraying of malathion, an insecticide used to kill crop-eating Mediterranean fruit flies, will not take place in Corona, in Southern California, if city officials have their way. They have sued to prevent the spraying, charging that the state wanted to use Corona residents as "human guinea pigs."

• A man who was a major financial backer of a petition drive to restore the Everglades was fined \$2 million for illegally filling similar protected wetlands in Maryland. Paul Tudor Jones II, who recently contributed \$345,000 to the Everglades effort, paid the fine in 1989 after pleading guilty to illegally developing 86 acres of wetlands on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

• A teenager who pleaded guilty to killing his father, mother, brother and sister received four life terms and a lecture from a Bismarck, North Dakota, judge troubled by his apparent lack of remorse. Michael Neugebauer, 17, could be eligible for parole in 24 years with good behavior.

• An adult movie theater in New York City has been shut down by health officials, who say that risky sexual activities had been allowed to take place there. It was the first such closing since the city began a new enforcement effort to slow the spread of the AIDS virus.

• A bachelor's degree is increasingly being viewed as insufficient, according to a survey of college freshmen for the American Council on Education. The poll showed that 65 percent of first-year students plan to attend graduate school to obtain an advanced degree. (AP, NYT)

### ★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

#### Clinton Cuts Deficit Forecast

**WASHINGTON** — President Bill Clinton says that the spending restraints Congress and the White House imposed last year are beginning to pay off and that the budget deficit will be \$180 billion, far smaller than projections made last year.

Mr. Clinton disclosed the new deficit projection, down from an estimate of \$300 billion last year, in his weekly radio address. He was foreshadowing the theme of economic recovery and budgeting discipline that he will sound in his State of the Union address on Tuesday and in his fiscal 1995 budget two weeks from now.

Along with the deficit projection for the fiscal 1995 budget comes economic pain for some. The administration plans to cut spending for hundreds of programs, and it appears likely that it will again try to save several billion dollars by holding down pay raises for government workers.

Mr. Clinton asserted Saturday that the administration had "built the foundation for a lasting economy recovery," although he said the nation still had "a long way to go." (WP)

#### Pentagon Aide Favored for Chief

**WASHINGTON** — President Clinton has focused his search for a new defense secretary on William J. Perry, the current deputy secretary, and was weighing his decision over the weekend, according to White House officials.

Mr. Perry, 66, a former engineering professor who is widely respected to Congress and at the Pentagon, met with Mr. Clinton alone in what White House officials called a "warm" session.

It's safe to assume that Bill Perry is now the front-runner, said a senior White House official. (NYT)

#### Quote/Unquote

The secretary of housing and urban development, Henry G. Cisneros, on efforts to help victims of the Los Angeles earthquake: "We are now dealing with the largest mass assistance to people in an urban setting in the history of the United States. Checks are already arriving at people's homes from the FEMA processing centers as we speak." (AP)

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# Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

## Bosnia Tries a Comeback

The new element in the Bosnia equation is the military success being demonstrated, and hoped for, by the mostly Muslim government. It has had some success in breaking the United Nations arms embargo, and recently it won back six Muslim towns in central Bosnia from Croatian forces, even while engaging Serbian forces, too. These campaigns, unlike the well-publicized Serbian siege of Sarajevo, take place largely beyond the gaze of the world press.

The new element has already contributed to collapse of internationally sponsored partition talks among Serbs, Croats and Muslims. Ordinarily one might plead with the parties to return to the table. It must count heavily, however, that the Muslim-led government—the most injured party—is at this point most responsible for continuing the war. Otherwise abandoned, and notwithstanding their losses, Muslims seek to regain all lost Muslim-majority lands. It is not so easy for the abandoners to tell them that they should be content with the 30 percent slice that the Serbs and Croats would, conditionally, provide.

Still, Muslims cannot ignore a second consequence of their military surge. The Croats, sometime partners of the Muslims in Bosnia, have switched sides. Previously warring Serbia and Croatia, and Bosnia's Serbs and Croats,

have just signed parallel agreements to start normalizing relations. This could be of great general escalation by deflating the explosive issue of the Serbian minority in Croatia. But it could also isolate Bosnia's Muslims and perhaps even tempt them—another recipe for escalation—to reach for support from fellow Muslims in Kosovo, Macedonia and Albania.

The new Muslim military policy has also increased the pressure on governments with troops in the United Nations peacekeeping force to pull them out. Mainstays France, Britain and Canada are tormented by the mismatch between the requirement for sufficient force and political backing to accomplish their humanitarian mission and the short leash on which they are kept by NATO and the UN Security Council and secretariat. President Bill Clinton warned NATO in Brussels against making "empty threats" of air strikes. He and it went ahead anyway and made a new one. We think that, notwithstanding the costs and frustrations, it remains useful to keep UN forces on the ground; it is not too late for Americans to join their humanitarian mission. But cannot the poor Bosnians be spared further phony offers of undeliverable air strikes or extra military aid?

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## By Diplomacy and Denial

The United States has traditionally tried to stop the spread of nuclear arms by talking nations out of wanting the weapons in the first place or by denying them the technology to make arms. But now that proliferation ranks high among the dangers to U.S. security, the Clinton administration faces pressure to pursue a third course, military action.

Nonproliferation hawks, impatient with the traditional tactics of diplomacy and denial, cite the Gulf War and the subsequent dismantling of Iraq as proof that force works. President Bill Clinton has wisely resisted. While keeping the military option in reserve, he has focused on diplomacy and on curbing trafficking in nuclear components to keep countries like North Korea and Iran from building bombs.

What currently has the hawks in full cry is North Korea's delay in resuming international inspections. At a minimum, they want to impose economic sanctions, backed by a naval blockade, but some also advocate air strikes.

The hawks routinely cite Iraq as evidence that air power yields results. But their argument is misleading. The 1981 Israeli attack on Iraq's Osirak reactor did not destroy Saddam Hussein's nuclear program but only drove it underground. Nor did allied bombing during the Gulf War succeed. It took persistent international inspectors to root out Iraq's bomb-making infrastructure.

Economic sanctions are less risky than air strikes, which could provoke a violent reaction from a volatile country like North Korea. But there is no assurance that an economically strangled North Korea would welcome inspectors or shut down its nuclear program, and it might turn belligerent.

The North's record of double-dealing makes the American Congress and bureaucracy understandably skeptical about diplomacy. And South Korea is uneasy about having the United States deal directly with the North. That is why it takes courage for President Clinton to try diplomacy first.

The president is on equally sound footing in trying to make it harder for countries to ship weapons-producing technology to nations that could use it for nuclear arsenals. He needs to persuade countries that possess such technology to impose tighter export controls on their manufacturers. The United States has traditionally granted allies access to American dual-use technology that could be employed both for weapons and for peaceful purposes like nuclear power plants. But it has denied such technology to states that export it to renegades like Iran, and persuade others to do likewise.

The administration can also improve the climate for nonproliferation by accelerating negotiations to ban all nuclear testing by 1995. Mr. Clinton's approach has had some success in South Africa, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine. Yet the Pentagon is prudent to hedge against failure by preparing now for a war against a nuclear-armed foe. Developing smart bombs to penetrate underground weapons factories and improving intelligence make sense so long as military countermeasures do not shift the focus from the first line of defense—the strategy of diplomacy and denial.

That strategy may not be as sensational as air strikes, but it runs less of a risk, and slowly but surely it is working.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Escalation Again in Turkey

The bulletins never change much from Turkey's long-simmering war with the Kurdish separatists, but some recent incidents suggest that the intensity level is rising. Kurdish forces recently killed a high-ranking army commander, the government has moved sharply against several news organizations and convicted one editor of "insulting the army," and the 1993 casualty rate was 4,180 people, the year before and a hefty proportion of the total number, 10,400, killed in the war's nine years.

It is an ominous direction, not just for the obvious reasons why any large-scale escalation of an internal war is ominous (casualties, damage to the economy, continuing human rights deprivations, increasing carryover terrorism in Europe by Kurdish groups protesting the Turkish military's strong-arm tactics) but also for a couple of additional reasons peculiar to Turkey. A major one, of keen interest to America and also to the various countries with wars flaring on Turkey's periphery, is the continuing bad effect on Turkish democracy.

Authorities in Ankara have long faced an awkward situation with the Kurdish Workers Party or PKK, which is classified by most governments (including America's) as a terrorist organization and one whose goal, an independent Kurdish state smack in the middle of a

wildly unstable area, the Turkish government equates with the dismembering of its own country. But Ankara has also been consistently unable to deal with the rebels, and with the long-standing cultural suppression of Kurds that propels the support for them, without acting in ways that flagrantly break the human rights codes that Turkey has voluntarily signed.

The military government in the southeastern regions has been progressively tightened, and the prime minister, Tansu Ciller, takes a tough line that echoes the generals' but that has not thus far given any indication of solving the problem (nine years being a long test by any definition). That tough line, and the accompanying crackdowns on information about what is happening in the region, have sparked fierce domestic debate over the responsibilities of government and press under such conditions.

The military's visible role is always a sore spot in domestic politics for a country that has so often seen domestic instability end in military crackdowns. Mrs. Ciller's economic programs, badly needed, and the country's fiscal stability in general depend on her being able to keep the military drain on the economy and on the political consensus from getting out of hand. Local elections scheduled for March deserve close attention.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Comment

### Toward Deregulation in Japan

For decades Japan pursued export-led growth by helping producers at the expense of consumers. Regulations kept some prices high, so boosting firms' domestic profits; this provided a safe base from which to assault foreign markets. But the strategy has now hit a wall. Japan's trade surplus is too big and the yen too strong for growth to depend on over-expanding exports. The bureaucrats know they must stimulate demand at home. Deregulation, which would cut prices and thus raise consumers'

purchasing power, is the best way to do this. A thousand vested interests still stand in the way. Japan's government is preoccupied with political reform and the need to pass a budget. Yet Mr. Hosokawa seems serious about deregulation. He has commissioned several deregulation studies. The most radical of which proposes scrapping 15 of Japan's 21 government departments. Last month the government sent a tough warning to obstructive bureaucrats by sacking the third most senior official in the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

—THE ECONOMIST (London).

## Reform's Setback in Russia Indicts an Arrogant IMF

By Jeffrey Sachs

The writer, professor of international trade at Harvard University, resigned on Friday as economic adviser to President Boris Yeltsin.

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — The Communist old guard reassessed political dominance in Russia last week.

The resignations of two key reformers, Yegor Gaidar and Boris Fyodorov, from Boris Yeltsin's cabinet are not just a failure for the Clinton administration, which has blithely accepted President Yeltsin's commitment to reform, but a serious setback for Russia's move toward democracy.

Western governments are now likely to spend much more on their military budgets than they would have on direct aid to Russia.

Most Western observers never understood the bald facts of political

**Michel Camdessus**  
should step down. The IMF needs new management at the top and a new direction.

cal life in Russia. While pundits debated the relative merits of shock therapy versus gradualism, the real issue was far simpler.

Would reformers have the political strength and Western financial backing to pursue a sensible and consistent financial policy, or would they be done in by a bitter and corrupt Communist opposition?

For two years, reformers in Moscow struggled for power while Western governments promised them large-scale aid. The financial crisis left behind by the Communist regime was too deep. The reformers could not win without outside help, but help never arrived, and the reformers paid the price, losing badly in the December elections.

The United States and its allies had turned over the task of bailing out Russia to the International

Monetary Fund and the World Bank, principally because institutions could make loans that did not require congressional and parliamentary authorization.

While the IMF and the World Bank proudly took the credit as leaders of Western aid, like private bankers they made sure that no significant amount of their money would be risked in unstable Russia.

Of the roughly \$18 billion that the IMF and World Bank were to lend to Russia in 1993, only \$2 billion was handed over. This might have been prudent banking practice, but it was disastrous foreign-assistance policy—and worse foreign policy.

What is even more troubling is that these institutions blundered in their assessment of the situation in Russia. It was not just excessive caution that stopped the flow of support. It was their lack of understanding about what to do.

The urgent tasks of financial reconstruction were admittedly complex, but the broad outlines should have been clear. Mikhail Gorbachev and the Communist regime had left Russia in financial shambles, with a budget deficit of more than 20 percent of GDP, and for by crying for a bailout, a rampant and corrupt flow of subsidized loans from the central bank to state enterprises; an unpayable foreign debt; depleted hard currency reserves.

The main goals of financial policy should have been to reduce the budget deficit; to float new government debt on the domestic market, in order to cover the budget deficit without printing new money; to stanch the flow of cheap government loans to weak industries; to establish a separate Russian currency so that Russia could pursue a monetary policy independent of its neighbors.

At the same time, international grants and loans should have been provided to help the government pay its bills.

All of these tasks were urgent, and each piece of the package was needed to support the others.

Critics might derisively call the package shock therapy, but these measures are the essential remedies for a financial collapse and have a pedigree stretching back to Alexander Hamilton's rescue of American finances in 1790, Fjalmar Schacht's solution for Weimar Germany's hyperinflation in 1923 and Ludwig Erhard's creation of a democratic market economy in Germany after World War II.

In all these cases, outside help was crucial.

The IMF failed miserably in advising the Group of Seven countries and the Yeltsin administration on Russia's financial reconstruction. It discouraged Russia from rapidly introducing a separate national currency. For two years it downplayed Russia's need and ability to issue domestic treasury bonds, focusing nearly all its efforts on pressuring the Russians to make politically impossible cuts in the budget deficit.

It advised Russia against the stabilization of the ruble exchange rate and held back a ruble stabilization fund designed to support such a policy. Most remarkably, it never acknowledged the urgency of mobilizing international assistance to help Russia finance its deficit.

The IMF's relentless advice was to cut the deficit, not to find acceptable and noninflationary ways to finance part of it. The World Bank also failed in its most important task: to help finance a viable social support system.

Why was the IMF so inept? For a simple reason. For 50 years, it has been nearly as secretive and monopolistic as the Central Committee of the Communist Party. All IMF loan documents concerning Russia are secret.

The only information the IMF publishes is general economic data, not specific policy advice. The IMF is cut off from independent professional scrutiny and from competition. It alone determines whether Western aid will flow.

Like any long-standing monopoly, it has grown arrogant, self-protective and sloppy.

And yet whenever anything goes wrong with an IMF program, the United States Treasury and the other Group of Seven governments draw the wagons around the IMF.

The Western governments have to understand that it is one thing to defend the basic and sound principles espoused by the IMF—budget discipline, responsible monetary policy, open markets—and another to cover up the shortcomings of the organization's technical work and its reluctance to make loans in urgent circumstances.

The IMF's misadventure in advising the Group of Seven countries and the Yeltsin administration on Russia's financial reconstruction. It discouraged Russia from rapidly introducing a separate national currency. For two years it downplayed Russia's need and ability to issue domestic treasury bonds, focusing nearly all its efforts on pressuring the Russians to make politically impossible cuts in the budget deficit.

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The reformers may or may not get another chance in Russia. Now that they are no longer leading the key ministries, there is little the United States can do. It will have to watch how the policies of the new government develop, but it makes little sense for the Clinton administration to commit to large-scale economic assistance unless reformers regain power. In any case, American credibility on aid is already at a low ebb.

If reforms somehow continue, the worst response on the West's part would be to send an unreformed IMF back into the fray. The IMF's managing director, Michel Camdessus, should accept responsibility for this debacle and step down. The IMF needs new management at the top and a new direction, based on the best practices in financial stabilization, risk-taking in lending money and openness to professional scrutiny.

The best the United States can do now is to prepare for another chance to support reforms before Russia poses a renewed threat to itself and the rest of the world.

The New York Times.



## This Isn't the Time to Turn Up Foreign Pressure on Hosokawa

By Roger Buckley

TOKYO — Prime minister Morihiro Hosokawa is battling to keep his eight-party coalition afloat after the rejection last week of political reform bills by the upper house of parliament. He now faces his most testing period in office as troubles mount on all fronts.

There will be frantic efforts to patch together a compromise reform package before the parliament session ends on Saturday. Domestic and international economic problems threaten to overwhelm Mr. Hosokawa. The danger is that America and other trading partners that have large and persistent deficits with Japan will lose patience at precisely the moment when it is least able to offer substantial concessions.

News that Japan's trade surplus for 1993 reached a record high of more than \$120 billion is alarming for a nation in the midst of the political and economic reforms. The surplus is shifting from the minutiae of political reform to a concern that all-out efforts be made to pull the economy from its prolonged slump.

Mr. Hosokawa's difficulties are being compounded by a scheduled visit to Washington next month for talks with President Bill Clinton on ways to improve U.S. access to the Japanese

market and cut the U.S. trade deficit. Officials in Tokyo are worried that the negotiations on sensitive economic issues may be aggravated by the recent political setbacks for the ruling coalition. Any weakening of Mr. Hosokawa's power, it is feared, might lead to increased American pressure on market access issues at a time when Japan is becoming increasingly anxious about its own economic prospects.

The stubborn recession is preoccupying almost everyone in Japan. Consumers in 1994 are a very different breed from those of the bubble economy years. They search for bargains and hoard of discount purchases. Austerity is becoming a hallmark of contemporary Japan.

For Mr. Hosokawa, the only plus in this situation is the lack of political fallout from the steadily belittling exercise. Sociologists will see in recent events evidence of Japan's "situational ethic," in which the realities of any given moment are accepted fatalistically. For the average Japanese "salaryman" and

his family, the grumbling so far has been largely in private at less overt and shaming bemoanings. But there is also a lurking fear that a system of lifetime employment can no longer be sustained and may be overtaken by layoffs and increasing competition for a shrinking pool of jobs.

Middle-class Japan, to which most Japanese believe they belong, knows that its future will be less pleasant than the past. Graduates are already scrambling to find work, but few are yet blaming the government for the tough labor market. Instead, the public is receptive to talk of restructuring the economy and reducing the red tape that ties up large chunks of a supposedly free enterprise system. The climate appears right for converting Japan from an export machine into a consumer society.

However, many economists are predicting that Japan's economic recovery will be slow and uneven. The need for restructuring that may well cause added pain? The more prolonged the downturn, the more testing it will become for Mr. Hosokawa's coalition, assuming that it manages to survive the current turmoil. Dole's promises are likely to grow if successive economic stimu-

lus packages make little impression and consumer confidence dips further.

Any government in Tokyo would be severely challenged if its main trading partners chose to turn on the heat when Japan was in political and economic crisis. A double punch from an anxious Japanese public looking for a way out of domestic difficulties and new pressures from the Clinton administration might well put Mr. Hosokawa on the ropes.

To reassure Japanese voters that their jobs are safe, while opening the scandal-ridden construction industry and stripping off the layers of hubbub from the distribution and service sectors, could be mission impossible.

Mr. Hosokawa must be hoping that the United States tones down its demands on Japan and waits while its key Asia-Pacific ally learns how to govern—new "economic reform" medicine, without intervention from Washington, he may find himself on the political scrap heap.

The writer, who teaches history at the International Christian University in Tokyo, is author of "U.S.-Japan Alliance Diplomacy, 1945-1990." He contributed this comment to the Herald Tribune.

## Will the Clinton Administration's Foreign Policy Get Serious?

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Go figure: Bobby Ray Inman's flamboyant over the Pentagon and the taming of a special prosecutor to probe Whitewater and Bill Clinton's first year in office on bitter notes. At the same moment, public confidence in Mr. Clinton rises to its highest level, equalling that of Ronald Reagan at the same point in his presidency.

The president will no doubt be tempted to find solace in the polls. But he should not conclude that the public does not care about the problems that the Inman nomination and Whitewater raise as long as the economy continues to improve.

There is grist for such an interpretation in the latest New York Times CBS News Poll, where an increase in public confidence in the economy powers a rise in Mr. Clinton's popularity. Half those polled in mid-January felt that the economy was getting better, with Mr. Clinton's approval

rating returning to its previous high-water mark of 54 percent.

Even if the self-serving interpretation were true, it should not be controlling. Not when compared with the least bit of political fallout from the steadily belittling exercise. Sociologists will see in recent events evidence of Japan's "situational ethic," in which the realities of any given moment are accepted fatalistically. For the average Japanese "salaryman" and

his family, the grumbling so far has been largely in private at less overt and shaming bemoanings. But there is also a lurking fear that a system of lifetime employment can no longer be sustained and may be overtaken by layoffs and increasing competition for a shrinking pool of jobs.

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To reassure Japanese voters that their jobs are safe, while opening the scandal-ridden construction industry and stripping off the layers of hubbub from the distribution and service sectors, could be mission impossible. Mr. Hosokawa must be hoping that the United States tones down its demands on Japan and waits while its key Asia-Pacific ally learns how to govern—new "economic reform" medicine, without intervention from Washington, he may find himself on the political scrap heap.

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of the choices he has to make in foreign and security policy.

His trip this month to Europe and Russia was a good if belated beginning in that direction. But his credible performances at the NATO summit and in getting Ukraine to sign a demilitarization accord need to be followed up with a consistency of attention and clarity of purpose that has not always been apparent in his first year in office.

Last July, just before he left for the Group of Seven summit of industrialized democracies in Tokyo, Mr. Clinton invited a group of journalists to lunch. I came away impressed with how much he had absorbed in foreign policy in six months on the job. A few weeks ago, prior to the Europe trip, he again served lunch and his views on his upcoming foreign trip.

This time the president seemed less adventuresome and much less excited about the challenges of being the first post-Cold War president. The opportunities for growth that seemed both apparent and challenging six months earlier had been eclipsed by the flak he took over Somalia, Bosnia, Haiti and now even Russia and Eastern Europe.

A troubling moment came when the president, who had so amply and repeatedly defended his decision not to offer East European countries early membership in NATO, was asked if anyone in his administration had seriously argued the opposite case to him. No, the president said, no one had.

Was it possible, I wondered, that the president was unaware of the debate within his administration, with Secretary of State Warren Christopher and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake initially leaning toward early membership before Ambassador-at-large Strobe Talbott took them over to his go-slow view? The debate was a useful exercise and produced the right result. There was no need to be ashamed of it.

Or was it more likely that Mr. Clinton was carefully calculating the effect of his answer and deciding not to encourage stories about dissent and dissent within his administration? I thought that to be the case, given the administration's obsession with presentation and appearances.

If so, that denial may be seen by the president as prudent news management. But it is not leadership. Mr. Clinton has yet to encourage the kind of public debate about America's place in the world beyond the Cold War that is needed if a new consensus is to be found. Acknowledging intelligent internal dissent could help stimulate that national debate.

A year without a significant, clear challenge to America's interests abroad has enabled Mr. Clinton to muddle through. Viewing the Inman affair, Europeans who expected the administration to take six months to get organized in managing world affairs say it will take 18 months instead. Better late than never. But it will not happen at all without a new consistency and clarity of purpose from the White House.

The Washington Post.

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1894: Gag on Deputies

ROME — The due to the adjournment of the opening of the Chamber until February 20 by a Royal decree published in the official gazette last night (Jan. 22) is that Signor Crispi does not propose that the rapid members of the Extreme Left shall have an opportunity of frothing over and making incendiary speeches as they intended and thus stirring up the populace. Signor Crispi is determined to make the state of siege in Sicily and elsewhere effective. The correspondent of the *Figaro* in Rome writes: "Signor Crispi is commencing a very serious game, in which the stake is neither more nor less than the Monarchy."

### 1919: Russian Affairs

PARIS — Interior minister has been aroused in Russian circles in Paris by the decision of the Great Powers to invite delegates of Russian Governments to a conference

with Bolsheviks on Princes' Island. The general feeling is that there can be no question for them of parleying with the Bolsheviks.

WARSAW — The Bolsheviks are advancing in Lithuania, perpetrating acts of terror and vandalism. Inhabitants are being shot by hundreds. All that still remains of former dwellings is pillaged and burned down.

### 1944: German Retreat

MADRID — [From our New York edition:] The road out of Rome is filled with official cars of both German and Italian Fascist authorities fleeing because of the threat of Allied forces pressing in from the south. Diplomatic reports from the Italian capital declared today (Jan. 23) that the German Quartermaster Corps headquarters has



OPINION

# Europe Needs a Strong NATO, Not Utopian Gimmicks

By Henry Kissinger

NEW YORK — Perhaps the most significant aspect of Bill Clinton's progression across Europe was obscured by the atmosphere. In fact, the trip ushered in an important re-evaluation of heretofore accepted premises of American foreign policy. In effect, the president's statements elevated the radical critique of Cold War policies into the operational premises of contemporary American foreign policy.

For nearly half a century, that critique had maintained that Soviet policies were as much caused by American policies as by Communist ideology; that the Soviet government was divided, just like the American, between hawks and doves; that it was the task of American diplomacy to ease Soviet fears, many of which were quite legitimate, and that an attitude of genuine cooperation would overcome Soviet belligerence.

As late as January 1992, these propositions were reaffirmed in a Time article in which Mikhail Gorbachev was quoted as saying that the decade of the 1990s would be a decade of peace. Its author was Stephen Talbot, recently chosen to be deputy secretary of state, who argued that the doves of 40 years of Cold War debate had been right all along and that it had not been the West's policy that brought about the Soviet collapse but the inherent weakness of the Soviet system; indeed, that the collapse might have occurred earlier had Western hard-liners not enabled the Soviet leaders to rally their people on behalf of security.

The essence of these themes was repeated by President Clinton on many occasions during his European trip. To explain why he did not favor the admission of Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia into NATO, he argued in effect that such a step might be provocative.

He added: "I say to all those in Europe and the United States who would simply have us draw a new line in Europe further east than we should not forego the possibility of the best possible future for Europe which is a democracy everywhere, a market economy everywhere, people cooperating everywhere for mutual security."

The assumptions behind his statements challenge the intellectual foundations of NATO, the core of America's postwar foreign policy.

Whether the former victims of Soviet imperialism should join NATO is a complicated question. There are many ways to accomplish that goal, from full membership to various levels of associate membership or, indirectly, via membership in the European Union.

But the key issue is not the timing of NATO expansion. In putting forward the Partnership for Peace, the administration did not just delay East European participation, it emphatically rejected the principle despite many misleading statements to the contrary.

The Partnership invites all the successor states of the Soviet Union and all of Moscow's former East European satellites to participate with NATO in a vague, multilateral entity specializing in missions having to do with nothing to do with realistic military tasks; it equates the victims of Soviet and Russian imperialism with its perpetrators and gives the same status to the Central Asian republics at the borders of Afghanistan as it gives to Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, which Russia has historically invaded Europe.

Therefore, if the Partnership for Peace is designed to propitiate Russia, it cannot also serve as a way station into NATO, especially as the Clinton administration has embraced the proposition, rejected by all its predecessors for 40 years, that NATO is a potential threat to Russia.

An official traveling with the president's party expressed the logic behind the administration's position when he stated that Eastern Europe would have no role in placating its feared neighbor. "The most effective thing for us," he said, "is to try to protect Eastern Europe by encouraging anti-imperialist, democratic tendencies in Russia."

It is instructive to compare the current approach with that of Dean Acheson when NATO was founded. Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the secretary of state was asked whether the Soviet Union had reason to fear NATO. His reply was: "Any nation which claims that this treaty is directed against it should be reminded of the biblical admonition that the guilty flee where no man pursues."

What does it say about Russian attitudes if the expansion of NATO is perceived to be provocative? No reasonable observer can imagine that Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary or Slovakia could ever mount a military threat against Russia, either singly or in combination. The countries of Eastern Europe are terrified, not threatening. And NATO forces, doctrine and deployment are strictly defensive.

Moreover, Russia could hardly be given additional assurances, for instance, that no foreign troops would be stationed on the soil of new NATO members — assurances that already exist with respect to the former East German satellite.

The key question, however, is what the American theory means for NATO. What is to be NATO's precise role in the new dispensation?

It is time to take another look at the administration's Russia policy, which stakes everything on a kind of psychoanalytic social engineering. The world evoked by Mr. Clinton's reference to "democracy everywhere... people cooperating everywhere" is a utopian world. In the real environment of today's ethnic conflict and interstate struggle in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, how is security and progress to be organized until that utopian world is reached?

Can it be wise to create two categories of frontier — those which NATO protects and others which are refused protection — when both frontiers face in the same direction? The practical consequence will be to bring about an unprotected no-man's-land between Germany and Russia, which has historically been the cause of all recent European conflicts.

A realistic approach to Russia policy would recognize that integrating Russia into the international system has two components that must be kept in balance: influencing Russian attitudes and affecting Russian calculations.

The Clinton administration deserves support in extending generous economic assistance to Russian reform. And Russia should be made welcome in institutions that foster economic, cultural and political cooperation with the West. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would be a far better home for this than a Partnership for Peace that invents common military missions within the framework of NATO, whose essential irrelevance underlines the artificiality of the conception.

The administration's tendency in treating Russian leaders as if they were fragile novices easily flustered by exposure to the realities of international politics is an invitation to disillusionment and misunderstanding. These are tough men who have survived the brutal school of Communist and Russian politics; they are quite capable of comprehending a policy based on mutual respect for each other's national interest. In fact, they are likely to understand such a calculus better than appeals to an abstract and distant utopianism.

Russia is bound to have a special security interest in what it calls the "near abroad" — the other republics of the former Soviet Union. The test is whether the rest of the world treats this relationship as an international problem subject to accepted rules of foreign policy or as an outgrowth of unilateral Russian decision-making to be influenced, if at all, by appeals to Russian goodwill.

Perhaps the most serious misapprehension of the Partnership for Peace proposal is that a reformist Russian government would automatically abandon traditional foreign policy goals. For the incentives of the most well-meaning Russian government are quite different from those of the United Nations — the pain of transition to market economies for the Russian population by appealing to that basic instinct. This is reflected in President Boris Yeltsin's refusal to go along with NATO in punishing Serbia and in his reaction to the Partnership proposal.

Mr. Yeltsin is reported to have asked that all the successor states of the Soviet Union and all former East European satellites join it simultaneously, thereby fulfilling a decade-long Kremlin policy of diluting NATO to the point of irrelevance.

At the moment, Russian armies are in Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Latvia and Tajikistan and participate in some of the local wars with a strategy that seems designed to make these new republics — all of them members of the United Nations — rue their independence. The foreign minister of Russia has repeatedly put forward a scheme for a Russian monopoly on peacekeeping in the "near abroad," indistinguishable from an attempt to re-establish Moscow's domination. By its silence and its repeated invocation of an American-Russian partnership, the United States acquiesces in these actions.

A moderate Russian foreign policy will be impeded, not helped, by turning a blind eye in the reappearance of historic Russian imperial pretensions. Russia's effort at reform cannot exempt it from accepted principles of conducting foreign policy. It is in fact ambiguity about dividing lines, not their existence, and ambivalence about Western reactions, not their certainty, that tempt militarists and nationalists. Reform will be strengthened if moderates are put in a position of highlighting the dangers of a nationalistic Russian policy.

Russia and America share a mutual interest in a stable Europe and Central Europe. This can be achieved only by America's presence in Europe, which is based on NATO. Stability in Europe requires reaffirming the centrality of NATO rather than diluting it in an abstract multilateralism.

This leads to the following conclusions: • The Partnership for Peace should be redefined to deal primarily with political, economic and cultural issues for which the proper venue is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, not NATO.

• NATO must face the fact that some form of membership for Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic is inevitable. In the wake of the NATO summit, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has urged speeding up the entry of these four countries into the European Union, of which they are already associate members. Since almost all the members of the European Union are also members of NATO, it is inconceivable that the Union will for long accept the notion that some of its territory is not protected. At that point at the latest, either the NATO guarantee will be extended or NATO will fall apart.

A statesman can always escape his dilemmas by making the most favorable assumptions about the future. The new Russian leadership is entitled to understanding for the anguish of trying to overcome two generations of Communist misrule, and to help in building a new society. But in pursuing that goal, American policy must not be embarrassed in emphasizing that domestic reform, however desirable, contributes to a better world only if Russia embraces the disciplines of a cooperative international system as well as its benefits.

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If a security guarantee along the Polish-Russian border creates an unacceptable dividing line, why is the current eastern border of NATO any more pacifying? If Russia can veto NATO membership now when it is in need of economic support, what will it veto when it has been strengthened through reform and American economic assistance?

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## East Europeans Should Get a Real West European 'Yes' in 1994

By Timothy Garton Ash, Michael Mertes and Dominique Moïsi

PARIS — At its Brussels summit, NATO promised more to East-Central Europe than seemed likely before the Russian elections. The door to membership has been declared theoretically open; hints have been given as to how best to approach that door. But no clear conditions have been laid out for passing through it. This should be done sooner rather than later.

Meanwhile, it is worth reflecting on the complementary tasks and possibilities of the other great Brussels house, the European Union. For its founding fathers, the Community was neither just a defence-free trade area nor merely an association against the Soviet threat. Its most important purpose was to make war between Europeans impossible. Economic integration was a means to that higher political end.

With time, as often happens, the means have come to be taken for the end. The original end has been largely forgotten, partly because it has been achieved. In Western Europe, that is. Elsewhere in Europe we once again have war.

The area we call East-Central Europe — including Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia, but with its own important set of diverse bordering cases, such as the Baltic states, Croatia and Romania — is both geographically and politically somewhere in between. *Mourir pour Sarajevo* has become an all too real question, above all for those countries, including some East-Central European states, with troops in the former Yugoslavia.

In the still fortuitously hypothetical case of an acute external threat to the security of East-Central Europe, we in the West, in NATO,

would be called in to give an answer far more substantial either than the Partnership for Peace or than that given in practice, so far, to many of them. Meanwhile, we in Western Europe, in the European Union, have political and economic means at our disposal to help ensure that the potential internal sources of insecurity in the region are diminished rather than exacerbated.

Two things, above all, need to be done. First, as a matter of urgency, ensure that West European markets are opened up for the goods that the East-Central Europeans can export now. Coping with fragile economic recovery depends on these exports and consolidation of fledgling democracies depends on that recovery.

At the moment, we have a shameful protectionism, whether against Polish textiles, Czech steel or Hungarian foodstuffs. We send those countries countless advisers to preach the virtues of the free market and free trade, but we do not practice what we preach. They are told that they can hope to join the European Union only if they transform their economies, but they are denied the market access that alone would sustain that transformation. A perfect catch-22.

It would be naive to pretend that this will be easy, at a time of acute recession. Conventional wisdom suggests that it will cost jobs in Western Europe, but this is only half the truth. It fails to take account of the new export opportunities that a sustained recovery in the East would bring for West European producers.

In the longer term, opening Western Europe to the fresh breezes of low-wage competition should be part of the salutary shock needed to restore our competitiveness in a wider world. If the United States was right in embracing the North American Free Trade Agreement, then the European Union should welcome a NEFTA — a new European free trade area.

Secondly, the European Union should give more political substance to what is already understood to be an "engagement contract" with the East-Central European states. In this respect, the Maastricht treaty is not just the end of an old road. It also contains elements of a new beginning, particularly with its explicit and implicit provisions for variable geometry.

For example, not all EU states will join in monetary union. Not all will participate in defense integration in the framework of the Western European Union. And there will be states, such as Turkey, which do not belong in the Union but are associate members of the WEU.

This new flexibility offers chances for developing the relationship with East-Central Europe. In an article more than two years ago, we suggested that these states should be invited to participate directly in at least some of the foreign and security policy discussions of the European Community member states. The case for doing so has not grown any weaker. We also suggested that they should be given some way of being involved in the European elections of 1994, as a trial run for full participation in those of 1999.

In thinking about the enlargement negotia-

West. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would be a far better home for this than a Partnership for Peace that invents common military missions within the framework of NATO, whose essential irrelevance underlines the artificiality of the conception.

The administration's tendency in treating Russian leaders as if they were fragile novices easily flustered by exposure to the realities of international politics is an invitation to disillusionment and misunderstanding. These are tough men who have survived the brutal school of Communist and Russian politics; they are quite capable of comprehending a policy based on mutual respect for each other's national interest. In fact, they are likely to understand such a calculus better than appeals to an abstract and distant utopianism.

Russia is bound to have a special security interest in what it calls the "near abroad" — the other republics of the former Soviet Union. The test is whether the rest of the world treats this relationship as an international problem subject to accepted rules of foreign policy or as an outgrowth of unilateral Russian decision-making to be influenced, if at all, by appeals to Russian goodwill.

Perhaps the most serious misapprehension of the Partnership for Peace proposal is that a reformist Russian government would automatically abandon traditional foreign policy goals. For the incentives of the most well-meaning Russian government are quite different from those of the United Nations — the pain of transition to market economies for the Russian population by appealing to that basic instinct. This is reflected in President Boris Yeltsin's refusal to go along with NATO in punishing Serbia and in his reaction to the Partnership proposal.

Mr. Yeltsin is reported to have asked that all the successor states of the Soviet Union and all former East European satellites join it simultaneously, thereby fulfilling a decade-long Kremlin policy of diluting NATO to the point of irrelevance.

At the moment, Russian armies are in Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Latvia and Tajikistan and participate in some of the local wars with a strategy that seems designed to make these new republics — all of them members of the United Nations — rue their independence. The foreign minister of Russia has repeatedly put forward a scheme for a Russian monopoly on peacekeeping in the "near abroad," indistinguishable from an attempt to re-establish Moscow's domination. By its silence and its repeated invocation of an American-Russian partnership, the United States acquiesces in these actions.

A moderate Russian foreign policy will be impeded, not helped, by turning a blind eye in the reappearance of historic Russian imperial pretensions. Russia's effort at reform cannot exempt it from accepted principles of conducting foreign policy. It is in fact ambiguity about dividing lines, not their existence, and ambivalence about Western reactions, not their certainty, that tempt militarists and nationalists. Reform will be strengthened if moderates are put in a position of highlighting the dangers of a nationalistic Russian policy.

Russia and America share a mutual interest in a stable Europe and Central Europe. This can be achieved only by America's presence in Europe, which is based on NATO. Stability in Europe requires reaffirming the centrality of NATO rather than diluting it in an abstract multilateralism.

This leads to the following conclusions: • The Partnership for Peace should be redefined to deal primarily with political, economic and cultural issues for which the proper venue is the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, not NATO.

• NATO must face the fact that some form of membership for Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic is inevitable. In the wake of the NATO summit, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has urged speeding up the entry of these four countries into the European Union, of which they are already associate members. Since almost all the members of the European Union are also members of NATO, it is inconceivable that the Union will for long accept the notion that some of its territory is not protected. At that point at the latest, either the NATO guarantee will be extended or NATO will fall apart.

A statesman can always escape his dilemmas by making the most favorable assumptions about the future. The new Russian leadership is entitled to understanding for the anguish of trying to overcome two generations of Communist misrule, and to help in building a new society. But in pursuing that goal, American policy must not be embarrassed in emphasizing that domestic reform, however desirable, contributes to a better world only if Russia embraces the disciplines of a cooperative international system as well as its benefits.

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Timothy Garton Ash is author most recently of "In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent." Michael Mertes is a senior adviser to Chancellor Helmut Kohl, writing here in a personal capacity. Dominique Moïsi is deputy director of the Institut Français des Relations Internationales. They contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

### BOOKS

#### RUNNING AS A WOMAN: Gender and Power in American Politics

By Linda Witt, Karen M. Page and Glenn Matthews. 330 pages. \$22.95. Free Press.

Reviewed by Ellen Chesler

FEMINISTS like to say that all political reality is socially constructed. Simply put, this means that in public life there are really no objective truths. How the world is understood depends on who's doing the interpreting, and men have typically been the main actors and the scribes, first making history and then writing it up. The twin spin men put on events distorts what we experience and then learn as fact, and, in this way, women are doubly disadvantaged. To redress the balance, we have only one recourse. We must claim our own stations as politicians and as pundits.

I have rarely seen this dictum put to more productive and accessible use than in "Running as a Woman: Gender and Power in American Politics," the joint work of Linda Witt, a journalist, Karen M. Page, a political scientist, and Glenn Matthews, a historian. It is a spirited book in which women-pundits write engagingly about women in politics and manage, perhaps not surprisingly, to claim women's central influence in determining the course of American history in 1992.

Some of what the authors have to say is not new, and their material is not always well-organized, but their assertions are carefully documented. The book often has the feel of a rushed job, its historical framework hurriedly imposed on current events. Still, its main argument seems sound, exploding myths of what men have been telling us is important in U.S. politics.

Witt, Page and Matthews claim nothing less than that women were principal agents of change in the United States in 1992. We learn here that maybe it wasn't just the economy, stupid. Nor was it simply Saddam Hussein who propelled Bill Clinton in Washington, along with more women in the House and Senate than ever before.

Instead, say the authors, it was Anita Hill who raised consciousness about the exclusion of women from the halls of power. It was those women soldiers who left their children behind when they went to fight in the Gulf War and those few who then tragically returned home in body bags. It was women who wanted a family-leave bill and women shoppers offended by a president who was unfamiliar with the workings of a supermarket checkout. It was women who defended the privacy and integrity of their bodies, even if they don't always approve of abortion unconditionally. And perhaps it was also the points scored by the accomplished Hillary Rodham Clinton

when Marilyn Quayle made that silly gaffe about the essentially nurturing nature of women.

Such anecdotal evidence suggests what harder polling data confirms: Women's votes gave the advantage to Bill Clinton and numerous other Democratic candidates; women elected more of their own to represent them at all levels of public office than ever before; for the first time, a woman's political action committee raised more money than any other organized interest group — \$6 million, a fourfold increase since 1990, for Emily's List, and, perhaps most important of all, women were finally liberated to stand for election as women, refuting in their status and no longer relying on the boys. Women's expertise in issues such as health, education and child care that once marginalized their candidacies now corresponded with the major concerns of voters, male and female alike.

This transformation and its significance are highlighted by the book's historical allusions. It has been just a few years, after all, since Patricia Schroeder, when asked by reporters whether she would be running for president as a woman, responded: "Do I have an option?" It has been less than a decade since Walter Mondale's handlers, responded to the gender gap in the

1980 election by putting Geraldine Ferraro on the ticket but refused to let her talk about women's issues. It has been little more than 70 years since women won the vote.

The lingering effects of women's secondary role accounts for why it has taken so long to consolidate our power. We learn that the outspoken Jeannette Rankin of Montana, who twice lost her seat when she opposed America's entry into World War I and II, was not typical of the few pioneering women in Congress. More common were widows who came to Washington to fill their husbands' shoes. Progress, says this book, has been compromised by ideological divisions

among women, if, at the same time, propelled forward by incontrovertible changes in their economic status.

But in the end, the strength of "Running as a Woman" may also be its weakness. The book is so ambitious, so chock-full of interesting tidbits, that a really coherent analysis of women's political empowerment never emerges. But at least the case for building one has been made.

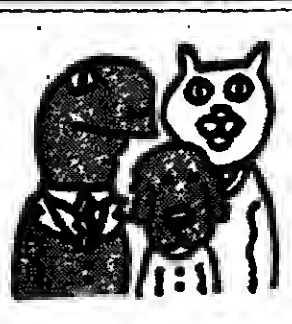
Ellen Chesler, author of "Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America," wrote this for The Washington Post.

#### WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Carlo Pont, an Italian fashion designer, is reading "My Family and Other Animals" by Gerald Durrell.

"This is the beyond-amusement book. It makes me think how animalistic my family has been throughout the years. It's very funny."

(Lisa Gersten, IHT)



### BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

BRIDGE books and columns are well-provided with examples of brilliant moves by experts, who then back in the limelight. Invariably omitted are the occasions on which an expert tries to be brilliant and emerges with egg on his face. A fine example is the diagrammed deal from the 1993 Spingold Knockout Team, played in July in Washington.

It will be seen that North-South went off the rails in the bidding, and reached six hearts lacking two aces, a misfortune that the blackwood convention, now 60 years old, was intended to prevent. The two-club response was game-forcing in the partnership style, but nevertheless it would seem that South had done enough by reverting to the one-bidder. If he had bid four hearts after his partner's

four-club one-bid, the bidding would have ended at a safe level. His jump to five hearts demanded that his partner continue if he had first- or second-round diamond control. He had, and he did.

West had paid careful attention to the North-South bidding. It was obvious to him that South was weak in diamonds, and that the dummy would produce the king. If dummy held the K-J, and East held the queen, it might be possible to take the first two tricks in diamonds. West therefore led a low diamond. The diamond position was as he had hoped, but he had made the only lead that would allow the slam to succeed.

South had no choice. He had to hope that West had indicated the ace, so he kept up the king and was rewarded when it won. His last diamond was discarded on dummy's

second club winner and the rest was easy.

**NORTH**  
♠ J 3 3  
♥ K J 5  
♦ A K 10 5 3  
♣ 8

**EAST**  
♠ 9 8 4 3  
♥ A 5  
♦ Q 9 7  
♣ Q 8 2

**SOUTH (5)**  
♠ A K Q J  
♥ K Q 10 7 5 2  
♦ 4 3  
♣ 8

North and South were vulnerable.

**The bidding:**  
South West North East  
1 ♣ Pass 2 ♣ Pass  
3 ♣ Pass 4 ♣ Pass  
5 ♣ Pass 6 ♣ Pass  
Pass Pass

West led the diamond two.

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## In Africa, Both Money and Paris's Role Shrink

By Barry James  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The halving in value of the French-backed franc in Africa this month is widely seen as a serious blow to France's influence in its former colonies.

But analysts say that the economic and political situation in those countries has deteriorated so badly that there are no immediate signs of France's commercial rivals jumping in to exploit it.

"I don't think there is anyone waiting in the wings to take over from France," said Steve McDonald, executive vice president of the African-American Institute in New York. "The attitude here is that these countries are still basically a French problem, even if the devaluation shows a slackening of French interest."

After France made it clear it could no longer prop up their economies, 13 West and Central African countries were forced to devalue the CFA, their common currency, by 50 percent at a summit meeting in Dakar, Senegal, this month.

A 14th member of the Francophone group, the Comoros Islands, devalued the CFA by 25 percent. CFA stands for "Communauté Financière en Afrique" in West Africa and "Coopération Financière en Afrique" in East Africa.

The devaluation made them eligible for loans from the International Monetary Fund

and the World Bank for the first time in years, but only if they accept severe fiscal and economic discipline.

Michael Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, said France was more concerned in asserting its position in the European Union than in continuing its long-standing responsibilities in Africa.

"I don't think the French will totally withdraw, ever," he said. "But certainly, these countries are more and more going to find out that they must face hard reality."

The CFA had kept its parity of 50 to the French franc since 1948, backed by the French treasury. But the link became increasingly distorted as France tied its currency closely to the Deutsche mark. This made the CFA in African countries so strong that production costs soared, exports were hurt, and speculation was rampant. These goods smuggled in from Nigeria were much cheaper in the local market than the French products, even after passing through the hands of several Lebanese middlemen.

In the first six months of last year, France spent 5 billion francs (\$847 million) buying CFA francs that were shipped in container loads by Nigerian middlemen via England and shipped across the frontier from Switzerland in convoys of trucks.

To stem speculation, France ended the

convertibility of the CFA outside the franc zone Aug. 2.

Then, at a summit meeting of French-speaking countries in Mauritius in October, the French government served notice that it would make future aid to its former colonies conditional on their submitting to the discipline of the International Monetary Fund — widely referred to in Africa as the "International Money Fund." Since Jan. 1, all French aid to Africa has been subordinated to agreements with the IMF and the World Bank.

The devaluation, coupled with IMF discipline, will mean a massive drop in living standards throughout the region. For example, the IMF insists that countries not revalue salaries shrunk by the devaluation.

The devaluation meant that the price of a Mercedes limousine doubled overnight for the elite. More seriously, the escalating price of imported food brought closer the threat of a social explosion.

Although the devaluation improved the competitiveness of exports from the region, the beneficial effects will take some time to work through, while the crisis is here and now, analysts said.

"This is going to have serious political ramifications," said Mr. McDonald, a former U.S. diplomat in Africa who was in Gabon when the devaluation was announced.

"The rising cost of living will have a hard impact, while the popular perception will not take into account the long-term effects of increased export activity."

Mr. McDonald said the devaluation "has been taken in these countries as a sign of French withdrawal, of a lack of interest. Those in power in countries like Gabon feel they have been left to float out there."

He said the devaluation had seriously weakened the political elite in such countries as Chad, Gabon and even Ivory Coast, the most developed of the French-speaking African countries, which is adjusting to the end of an era with the death of President Félix Houphouët-Boigny.

The effect on French companies in the region is likely to be mixed. Some will benefit because of the huge reduction in salary costs and increased export opportunities. Companies that rely on imports, or firms in France that export to Africa, are facing a tough new world. Africa is France's most important export market after Western Europe.

If the devaluation does lead to social and political unrest, and open the way to exploitation of the situation by countries such as Libya, will France still be prepared to commit troops to guarantee security? The withdrawal of economic support could make this less likely.

## Q&A: UN Chief Cites a Lack Of Political Will Over Bosnia

After the collapse of another round of peace talks in Bosnia, the secretary-general of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros Ghali, spoke in Geneva with Robert L. Krown for the International Herald Tribune.

**Q.** In view of the persistent flouting of Security Council resolutions by the warring parties in Bosnia, notably the Serbs, how do you feel about the recent decision by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to consider air strikes to open the airport of Tuzla for humanitarian relief flights?

**A.** My reply is a very simple one. As long as the UN member states are not ready to use force — and I am not saying that I am in favor of that option — as long as there is no political will to impose a solution, the UN can do only three things: negotiations and peace negotiations, provide the maximum of humanitarian assistance, and contain the military conflict on the ground. Peacekeeping and peace enforcement depends on the political will of the international community and the parties involved in the conflict.

**Q.** But hasn't the recent NATO decision shown the will to use force, if only for the sake of the alliance's own credibility?

**A.** Yes, but only for a very limited, pinpoint operation, at Tuzla and in Srebrenica where the Canadian contingent has to be relieved by Dutch troops. But I am talking about peace enforcement for the whole of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and I am not so sure that is the right solution.

**Q.** Are you worried about possible Serbian reprisals against the UN peacekeepers if air strikes are ordered?

**A.** It is not only because of the blue helmets. If the UN force commander and my special representative at air strikes, we will do it. But are you sure NATO is really willing to use force? It may be sure NATO is really willing to use force, but the beginning of an escalation, of a wider war that would engulf the neighboring states, Kosovo, Macedonia and perhaps the whole of the Balkans. The decision is up to the member states, because they are supplying the soldiers and they are paying the price.

**Q.** In other words, you are faced with a Mission Impossible and the Serbs can continue their can-and-mouse game?

**A.** Do you have a better solution? We simply must accept this kind of Mission Impossible. If a political solution looks impossible at the moment, we still are doing a lot in the humanitarian field

and in trying to contain the conflict. People only talk about setbacks, but those are positive achievements.

The war in Bosnia is like a cancer, like a cancer that could spread. If you have a cancer patient you don't write him off after two years. You continue treatment for as long as it takes, like applying chemotherapy for five, six or seven years. You cannot say the UN has failed because we have not achieved a cure for Bosnia in two years.

Now people say they are in a hurry and want a solution in a matter of days. There have been commitment to genocide and atrocities have been committed and houses destroyed. This may take years, and I don't think we should call it a failure and give up.

**Q.** You have instructed your special representative, Yasushi Akashi, to draw up concrete plans for opening up Tuzla airport and enforce the rotation of UN troops in Srebrenica. What are those plans?

**A.** This is a new and specific situation, which needs careful study. That's why I have sent my undersecretary for political affairs [Marrack Goulding] to NATO for further details. As for the rotation in Srebrenica, we have received assurances that everything will be solved in the next few days. Tuzla is another matter.

**Q.** The Serbs say they will allow the rotation in Srebrenica but are putting limitations on the armament of the Dutch contingent. Is Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, empowered to dictate such terms to UN troops?

**A.** I am not familiar with such technical details. You should ask the UN commanders on the ground. The military people will determine whether or not those arms are necessary or not.

**Q.** Talking about UN commanders, why didn't you renew the assignment of General Jean Cot?

**A.** I don't want to comment on that subject.

**Q.** You have often called for more troops for the peacekeeping force in Bosnia. The Islamic nations have offered 15,000 troops, including an Iranian contingent of 10,000. Are you considering that offer?

**A.** Malaysia already has a unit in Bosnia and there's an offer from Bangladesh.

**Q.** What about the Iranians?

**A.** We cannot accept troops which might get involved directly or indirectly in the conflict. We don't invite troops with a political commitment, and that's why we didn't accept troops from countries bordering on the former Yugoslavia either.

## Serbs Threaten to Block Sarajevo Medical Flights

By John Pomfret  
Washington Post Service

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina — Two brothers who arrived a mortal attack Saturday that killed six children were to be flown from Sarajevo on Monday in a desperate attempt to save their legs, but a Serbian threat to block medical evacuations left the evacuation in doubt.

The Bosnian Serbs made the threat after the arrest last week of seven Serbs — five doctors, a lawyer and a secretary — on charges of illegally trying to flee Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital.

The Bosnian Serbian authorities informed the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for

Refugees in Sarajevo that their troops would block all medical aid and stop all medical evacuations from Sarajevo from noon Sunday if the seven Serbs were not released immediately. They also warned of retaliation against Muslim doctors in Serb-held Bosnia.

Stuck in the middle of this imbroglio were two brothers, Admir and Elvir Ahmetovic, ages 12 and 14. Both were wounded when a mortar round fell among a group of children who had been drawn outside by a fresh snowfall on Saturday afternoon.

In the neighborhood on Sunday, friends and relatives gathered in a show of support for the grieving parents, Mehmed Dedovic, whose

8-year-old son, Mirza, was killed in the blast, spent much of the day looking for five liters of diesel fuel, which along with 70 German marks is required payment for a burial.

Mr. Dedovic, a laborer at the Holiday Inn, home to most of the city's foreign reporters, has developed a stutter since the attack.

"Maybe I didn't love my boy enough," he said. "Maybe I should have kept him inside always. But what is life if you can't go out and play?"

Chris Janowski, a spokesman for the UN refugee office, said the surviving brothers suffered similar wounds to their legs. Shrapnel from the blast seriously damaged veins,

arteries and nerves of Admir's left leg and Elvir's right, he said.

According to the Bosnian indictment, the seven Serbs were arrested on Jan. 3 and 4 while trying to sneak out of Bosnian-held Sarajevo to the Serb-controlled neighborhood of Grbavica, which just into the center of Bosnian-controlled territory.

The seven included Marko Vukovic, the former head of surgery at the city's main hospital, and a lawyer for Energoimport, the state-run oil company.

The indictment said the Serbs had paid 2,000 Deutsche marks (\$1,150) a head to soldiers from the mostly-Muslim army who were aiding their passage to Serbian lines a

short distance away. The practice is widespread in Bosnia, with soldiers from all three factions engaging in the business of population exchange. The money to be made this way, according to a senior police officer here, is "an important reason why this war keeps going on and on."

The Serbs remain in custody, he said, denying rumors that they had been mistreated. The penalty for "avoiding military duty during wartime" ranges from 5 to 10 years in jail, according to the Yugoslav penal code, still used in Bosnia.

The police officer said work done by doctors and officials of state-run companies qualifies as "military duty."

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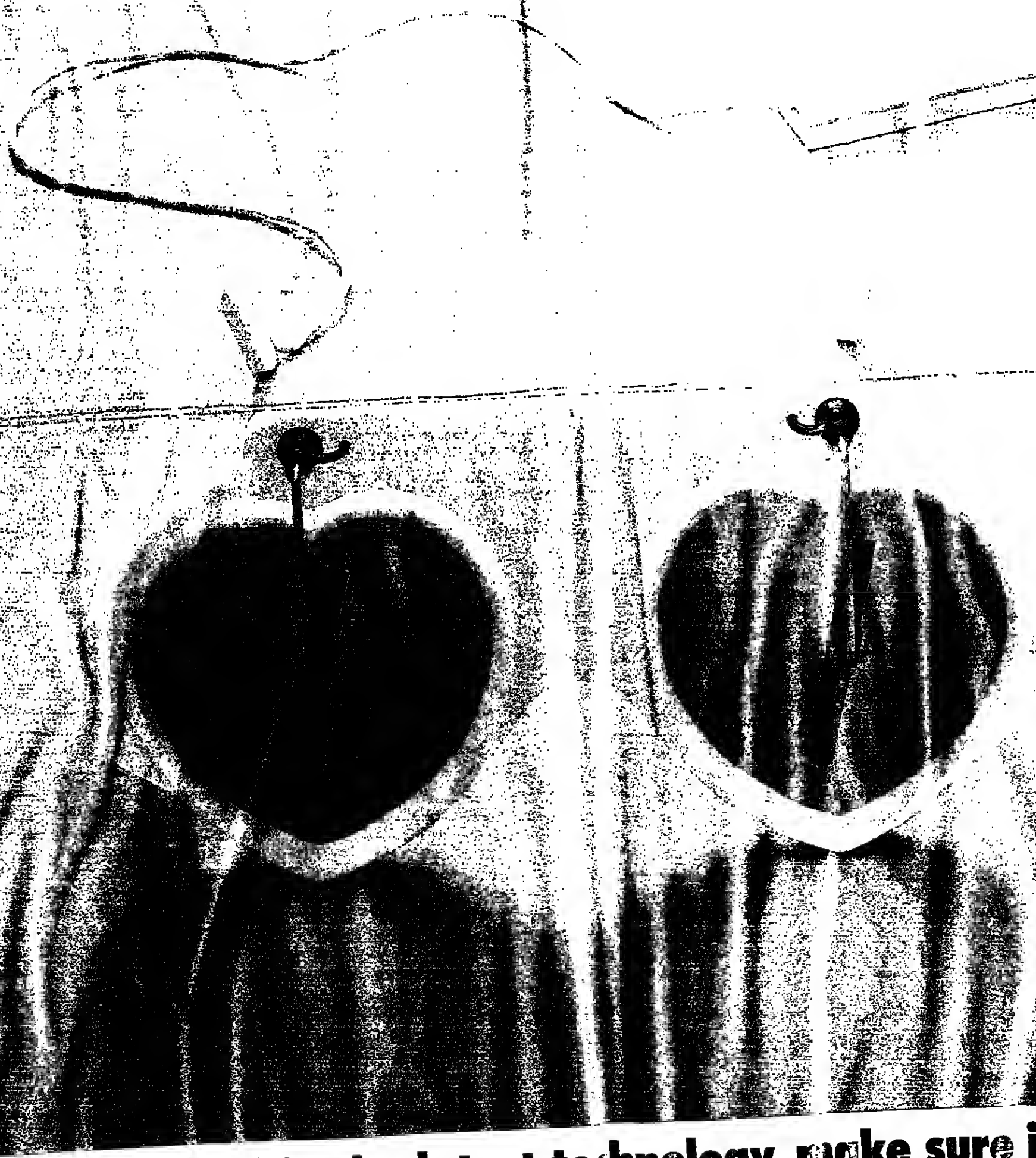
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Victims of the Los Angeles earthquake lining up to make phone calls at an emergency phone facility. The sign reads "10 minutes only."

## Officials Defend Quake Relief Efforts

*Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches*  
LOS ANGELES — Federal and state officials insisted Sunday that they were doing all they could to cope with the aftermath of the Los Angeles earthquake, describing the operation as the biggest urban relief effort in American history.

Housing Secretary Henry G. Cisneros and James Lee Witt, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, defended relief efforts in a television interview Sunday. They said the operation had improved considerably since last week, when victims stood in long lines for hours.

Mr. Cisneros said 17,000 people had registered in 13 emergency agency centers. He said 1,000 victims were to receive relief checks Sunday.

The federal agency has promised that six one-stop relief centers would open Monday to process applications for housing, low-cost loans and other assistance.

Governor Pete Wilson said Sunday that damage had topped total losses caused by a 1992 Florida hurricane designated Andrew, a \$30 billion natural disaster that had ranked as the costliest ever in the United States.

Mr. Cisneros called the assistance program the largest urban relief effort in U.S. history. Mr. Witt said federal, state and local government had responded well. "They've done a good job," he said.

Transportation managers, fearing another week of nightmarish traffic jams, scrambled to come up with a better plan for rerouting hundreds of thousands of motorists around col-

lapsed sections of the region's crumpled highway system.

Disaster relief threatened to become a major problem last week as federal centers established to handle thousands of earthquake-related claims could not process applications fast enough to satisfy weary, hard-pressed victims.

Federal and state officials responded by ordering that 1,000 workers be sent to the centers. Emergency agency employees are to come from throughout the country, including Puerto Rico, to help meet the demands.

The previous earthquake Monday, measuring 6.8 on the Richter scale, killed 56 people. It also left 25,000 people homeless and threw thousands out of work as commercial buildings collapsed. The quake injured more than 7,800 people, 1,300 seriously.

Residents were shaken Saturday night by two strong aftershocks that kept jangled nerves on edge. By Sunday the aftershocks were less frequent and less powerful.

National Guard troops erected tents at six locations where quake victims were living without adequate provisions of sanitation. The tents are equipped with field kitchens, as well as toilets, showers and electricity. Cots and sleeping bags were provided.

Getting into the military tents and out of makeshift shelters is the first step toward regaining normal lives, Mr. Cisneros said Saturday.

"It's a way to plug into the search for permanent housing," he said. "Out here in the park by themselves, no one's going to come look for

them." The new tents can house as many as 14,000 people.

One problem, officials said, is that many victims refused to go to Red Cross shelters that were opened immediately, fearing that the roofs might cave in on them. In some cases, illegal immigrants were reluctant to register with the Red Cross because they were afraid of being deported.

Governor Pete Wilson said officials would not order people into the shelters. "These are people who are frightened and we are not going to force them at beyond point," he said.

National Guard officers said they had been told to be prepared to maintain the camps for as long as two weeks. Some local politicians were concerned that the tent cities might be around far longer and drive away business.

The quake victims received a boost Saturday when President Bill Clinton announced the release of \$283 million in new funds to help relief efforts.

"We are working hard and making progress to ensure that assistance goes to California residents as quickly as possible," said the White House press secretary, Dee Dee Meyers.

Of the new funds, \$140 million will be used to support \$400 million in Small Business Administration loans. The remaining \$143 million will cover the full range of Federal Emergency Management Agency disaster relief activities.

To date, Mr. Clinton has announced \$69 million for loans, \$41 million for highway repairs and \$143 million in new Emergency Management resources.

(Reuters, AP, WP)

## Lesotho Army Factions Clash

*Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches*

MASERU, Lesotho — Fierce fighting between rival army groups broke out Sunday in the capital of the southern African kingdom of Lesotho, killing at least two rebel soldiers, a diplomat said.

The clashes erupted shortly after dawn, and the diplomat said "explosive shooting" lasted about 35 minutes, followed by two hours of sporadic gunfire, interspersed by mortar bombs.

The conflict was apparently sparked by a dispute over military pay, and diplomats said they did not believe it was related to dissatisfaction with the six-month-old government of Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle.

The U.S. Embassy warned people to vacate the capital, saying further heavy fighting between the two groups was expected later Sunday. Radio broadcasts advised residents of Maseru to stay indoors.

Foreign Minister R. F. Botha of South Africa, who mediated to try to quell the fighting after it began just over a week ago, advised South Africans not to travel to Maseru or surrounding districts. The mountainous kingdom is surrounded by South African territory.

Until the fighting on Sunday, three soldiers had been killed since rivalry and a dispute over pay between army units in the 2,000-member Lesotho military erupted into open hostility.

Lesotho, which has a history of military takeovers since independence from Britain in 1966, returned to civilian rule in March, when Mr. Mokhehle and his Basotho Congress Party won the first multiparty elections in 23 years.

Both the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity have sent special representatives to Lesotho in efforts to end the fighting.

The OAU called a meeting of all parties for Sunday, but it was not immediately clear whether the meeting had been held.

(AFP, Reuters)

## Germany Called Before UN Panel In Rights Inquiry

*The Associated Press*

BERLIN — Germany is being summoned for the first time before the UN Human Rights Commission, and the chief complaint against it centers on anti-foreigner attacks by rightist extremists.

A Foreign Ministry official in Bonn confirmed that complaints against Germany would be heard shortly by a lower-level committee of the 53-member international body in Geneva.

The official said it was "very unlikely" that Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel would appear before the full commission to answer the charges, as suggested by the news-magazine Spiegel.

The official said the complaints had been filed by individuals rather than states, and added it was not clear whether they would be heard by the full commission, which convenes Jan. 31. The official had no details on the complaints.

Der Spiegel listed two other complaints against Germany that it said would be heard in Geneva: a case of a schoolteacher's dismissal because of her activities in the East German Communist party, and a prisoner's claim of inadequate compensation for work in jail.

## MIDEAST: Israel Close to Breaking Stalemate With PLO, Peres Says

*Continued from Page 1*

and the West Bank and Jordan. Israel insists that it remain in charge on the borders, both to ensure its own safety and to forestall an appearance of Palestinian sovereignty, a matter that is supposed to be left to a later phase under the ceasefire agreement signed with the PLO in September. For his part, Mr. Arafat says that without responsibility at the crossings he will in effect be left with a ghetto in Jericho. His negotiators have at times called Israeli security concerns exaggerated.

In Oslo, Mr. Peres offered Mr. Arafat new border proposals. According to a press report in Jerusalem, one idea is to use sophisticated technology to give Israel an "invisible presence" on the frontier. That would avoid having to post security officers on the spot, a presence that the Palestinians consider unacceptable if they are to rule themselves.

On a stopover in Cairo on Sunday, the PLO leader did not sound quite as optimistic as the Israeli foreign minister, but he agreed that progress had been made toward ending an impasse that has contributed to the dwindling of public support for the September accord, especially among Palestinians in the occupied territories.

"There are some points we haven't agreed on, but there are some obstacles we managed to overcome," Mr. Arafat said before leaving Egypt for Syria and then Saudi Arabia, once his main financial backer.

The Saudis severed the cash pipeline when he supported Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, a move that helped plunge the PLO into an ever-deepening fiscal crisis. This is Mr. Arafat's first visit to Saudi Arabia since then, which suggests that his ostracism by Gulf oil states may be eased.

Israel's negotiations with the Syrians were given a badly needed

boost by a long meeting in Geneva earlier this month between President Bill Clinton and President Hafez Assad of Syria. After that session, Mr. Assad said he was ready for normal relations with Israel in exchange for a complete return of the Golan Heights, the strategic plateau captured by Israeli forces in the 1967 war.

Mr. Clinton added his imprimatur to those remarks, saying that he felt the Syrians meant business about establishing diplomatic links, open borders and trade with Israel. But the Israelis are skeptical.

They insist that they have little news and say they would have been more impressed had Mr. Assad offered details about the meaning of peace instead of leaving the chore to Mr. Clinton.

As an added complication, Mr. Arafat has since said that he would call for a national referendum if large portions of the Golan were to be given back. That has hardly

pleased Syria, and on Sunday the official newspaper Ash Thawra Sunday denounced the referendum call.

Despite the absence of goodwill, and despite the sudden death on Friday of Bassel Assad, the Syrian leader's eldest son and possible successor, Israel's talks with Syria are going ahead in Washington. They will also resume with Jordan and Lebanon and with a team of Palestinians whose main focus will be setting up elections in Gaza and the West Bank, planned for July.

Speaking to visiting American rabbis, Mr. Arafat said that he was ready to meet President Assad in Damascus, in Jerusalem, in any place on earth in which we can meet to negotiate.

As the prime minister pointed out, Israeli leaders had made similar offers many times in the past. There was no reason to believe this one would produce results any more than the others.

## CHINA: Reported Pledge to Free 3 Political Detainees

*Continued from Page 1*

About 30 were under investigation. About 30 had been released from prison or detention. Another 30 were not subject to legal sanctions, which could mean some of them were sent without trial for indefinite periods to "re-education" camps.

During a four-day visit to China that ended in Shanghai on Saturday, Treasury Secretary Lloyd

Bentsen said that while the Chinese had made some progress on human rights issues recently, "more remains to be done."

**Temporizing on Renewal**  
In Paris, Mr. Christopher said Sunday that China's efforts to meet human rights concerns were not sufficient to warrant renewal of favorable U.S. trade benefits, Reuters reported.

But he said that President Clin-

ton did not have to make this decision until June and added that senior U.S. and Chinese officials in recent meetings had made encouraging progress on this and other disputed subjects.

Mr. Christopher and his aides said that they had no independent confirmation of the reports, on Hong Kong television, fueling speculation that key prisoners may be freed.

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## Burma Removes Dissident's Guard

*The Associated Press*

RANGOON — Security posts outside the house of the detained pro-democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi were removed over the weekend, witnesses said, amid increasing speculation over the Nobel Peace laureate's fate.

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who was awarded the Peace Prize in 1991, has been under house arrest since July 20, 1989. She won a landslide victory in 1990 elections to lead her nation, but the party was not allowed to assume power. Burmese authorities can detain anyone for five years without trial under a law intended "to protect the state from dangers of subversive elements."

Despite the unexplained removal of five security posts outside the lakeside house near Rangoon University, road barricades remained and soldiers were visible nearby.

UN and other analysts expressed doubts that there was any way all these disputed areas could be included within just the 33.3 percent promised to the Muslim majority republic. Even the spokesman for the Bosnian delegation, Mohammed Scireby, conceded it might be "mathematically very difficult."

The new Bosnian self-confidence was reflected in the interview with General Delic, who is credited with building the Bosnian Army into a far more effective and disciplined force of 200,000 soldiers over the last six months. It has also become much better armed despite the UN arms embargo on Bosnia.

General Delic said he was personally opposed to the three-way partition of Bosnia. It was "unnatural," he said, and would tear many Bosnian families of mixed ethnic marriages apart.

In any case, he said he was not willing to accept "deserts and rocks" as part of a Muslim majority republic. "It's not a matter of percentage but of quality," he said.

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## BOSNIA: Negotiators on Notice

*Continued from Page 1*

signed map that would have given the Muslim majority republic 33.3 percent of Bosnia but left out the 14 towns and districts where Muslims have been driven out.

The Bosnians insisted that seven of the 14 towns and districts, which were Muslim majorities before the war, should be included in the proposed Muslim majority republic. They also named seven towns in central Bosnia that they are fighting over with the Croats and want included in their republic.

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## GUNS: Debate in the Philippines

*Continued from Page 1*

to impose such a ban was killed in a House of Representatives committee led by Jose Gojano, the brother of Corason Aquino, the former president, and "Pro-Gun" bumper stickers have proliferated to counter Gunless Society ads.

Philippine gun enthusiasts also have adopted some of the slogans of the U.S. National Rifle Association. Often parroted here is the catchphrase "Guns don't kill people; people do," Mr. Pacheco's answer to that is "Guns don't die; people do."

"The solution to the gun problem is not to add more guns," he said.

According to the police, there were more than 432,000 privately owned, registered firearms in 1990 in the Philippines, and an estimated 225,000 unregistered ones, half of them homemade models known

as palitars. The police estimate that clandestine gunsmiths in Manila produce at least 5,000 guns a year.

The bulk of these palitars guns are 38-caliber revolvers and 12-gauge shotguns, but the craftsmen have occasionally turned out more exotic weapons said Superintendent Ernesto Belen, the deputy chief of the fire arms and explosives unit of the national police.

"In most cases, the high-powered ones are quite dangerous," Mr. Belen said. "They can blow up in your hands." He said owners of palitars guns can register them legally, providing they test-fire the weapons themselves. "Our men would not want to touch one," he said.

Mr. Capoy, who has been in the business for more than 30 years, insists that his palitars are safe and that his customers include military men. He estimates that the gun business employs about 10,000 workers, and he says his small shop produces about 15 to 20 guns a month.

He says his newly made Colt .45, engraved "M1991 A1 U.S. Army" and "Ingha Gun Co. Inc., Ithaca, N.Y.," sells for \$428 — not cheap, but considerably less than a real U.S. model would fetch here. The Smith & Wesson copy, purporting to be a "Grand Master" model made in Springfield, Massachusetts, sells for \$250. But the standard 38-caliber revolver, minus the chrome, cost as little as \$35.

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## CAPITAL MARKETS

### Issuers Keep the Power But Sell the 'Corridors'

By Carl G. Cappelletti  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The quest to maximize income at a time when U.S. and Japanese interest rates are low and European rates are headed down is driving a resurgence of activity in a long-dormant sector of the international capital market: floating-rate notes.

For investors convinced that U.S. interest rates and the currency are headed higher, dollar notes, whose interest rates are reset every three or six months, are the ideal instrument. And for the coupon-hungry, an even better instrument is the so-called corridor floater.

Bankers caution that these instruments are riskier than investors appear to realize. In fact, this radical difference in perceived risk is what makes the paper so attractive to issuers because they are able to swap these risks and end up with a cost of funding that otherwise could not be matched.

Last week saw 10 new dollar issues totaling \$4.4 billion launched on the market. Such high-rated names as the World Bank offered to pay investors three quarters of a percentage point, or 75 basis points, over the three-month London interbank offered rate and banks such as Morgan Guaranty and Union Bank of Switzerland were offering interest of 100 basis points over Libor.

To give a measure of just how juicy these returns are, Sweden last week sold \$2 billion of classic FRNs with interest set at 12.5 basis points below Libor.

Corridor floaters accrue no interest on any day when Libor falls outside the corridor. The width of the corridor differs from issue to issue. The usual reference point is three-month Libor, which currently is 3.25 percent.

Export Development Corp. of Canada, for example, set a range of 2.5 to 4 percent in the first six months. This range then widens in each half-year, with the minimum remaining constant and the maximum rising to 4.75, 5.5 and finally 6 percent.

Morgan uses an alternate formula, with both the floor and the ceiling rising but at different speeds so that the corridor of 1 percentage point at the start is 2.65 percentage points wide at the end. In most other issues, the end-period corridor is 3 percentage points.

Another variable is the size of the spread over Libor, which can range from 50 basis points paid by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the 100 basis points paid by Morgan and UBS. The variables, including the offering price, are all used to fine tune the terms so that the issuer ends up with an all-in cost of funds below Libor.

Details of the final cost to the issuers are hard to come by, but

See FLOATER, Page 11

This kind of floating rate note is riskier than some investors realize.

## Paramount Turns the Wheel Again

By Geraldine Fabrikant  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Paramount Communications Inc., swinging back to its original partner, endorsed the latest merger offer from Viacom Inc., but left the door open for the rival bidder in the long battle QVC Network Inc.

Paramount's board on Friday terminated its merger agreement with QVC, but the chairman, Martin S. Davis, said, "The board is prepared to revisit today's recommendation if further bids are received." The board has asked each side to make its best bid by Feb. 1.

QVC's chairman, Barry Diller, responded: "The screw turns once again. We will evaluate events and respond appropriately." Viacom's chairman, Sumner Redstone, increased his bid last Tuesday by adding more cash and agreeing to give shareholders some protection against any declines in Viacom's stock, within a certain range, after the merger. Viacom is now offering \$107 a share in cash for 50.1 percent of Paramount and stock for the balance. That compares with QVC's

bid of \$92 a share in cash for the same percentage and stock.

The Paramount board's decision came after the stock market had closed on Friday afternoon. Paramount's stock ended the day at \$80 a share, up 37.5 cents.

One sign of how desperate the battle has become was the tone of the letters each side sent to the

stock has been as high as \$61 in the past year.

Viacom's bankers, Smith Barney Shearson, countered that "it is disingenuous for Allen & Co. to disparage Viacom's businesses" and characterized its analysis of future trading in Viacom stock as "absurd on its face." Allen & Co. late Friday took issue with Vi-

mount's board said Friday that "the letters take very extreme views of the value of the bids," and added: "We don't accept either interpretation."

The executive said the opinion by Paramount's investment banker, Lazard Freres & Co., "makes clear that Viacom's bid was marginally superior."

The executive added, "By intimating that it would improve its offer, QVC Network has itself made clear that it recognizes Viacom has a stronger offer."

Viacom and Paramount originally announced a merger agreement in September. But QVC came forward with a rival bid and successfully challenged the Viacom pact in the Delaware courts, and on Dec. 22, the Paramount board endorsed QVC's offer.

The board's reversal Friday did not surprise traders. "The board made a logical decision, given the amount of cash that Viacom has put up and the protection on the back end, which effectively adds cash to that portion of the bid," Edward Hauch, a media analyst for UBS Securities, said.

Viacom's bid is back in, and QVC's is out; but Barry Diller can still come back with another offer.

board, defending its own bid while attacking the rival offer. QVC's bankers, Allen & Co., argued that Viacom's main business — MTV and Showtime cable channels — were "under significant pressure," and that Viacom's attempt to protect the value of its stock was "ineffective and detrimental."

Viacom's B shares closed Friday at \$37.375, down 25 cents on the American Stock Exchange.

com's evaluating QVC stock at \$37.50 a share when QVC's stock

is currently trading at \$44 a share.

A person close to Smith Barney

contended that it used the \$37.50

figure because that is the level at

which it estimates QVC would

make if it won the battle. The stock

of a winning company in a merger

battle generally declines. Currently,

QVC is seen as the loser.

An executive close to Para-

## Its Eye on U.S., Vietnam Seeks Investors

The Associated Press

HANOI — Looking ahead to the United States lifting a trade embargo, Vietnam said Sunday it hopes to attract \$1.5 billion in foreign investment this year and \$14 billion over the next 10 years.

Vietnam also hopes for a growing place in the world economy, presumably to include the resumption of economic ties with the United States. In efforts to speed this up, the National Assembly is passing and amending laws to make it easier for a free market economy to operate.

The United States is edging toward renewing trade ties that were cut in 1975 when Communist North Vietnam took over the South. The United States imposed a trade embargo that has stood since then except for modifications that allow U.S. companies to do some business in Vietnam under certain conditions. President Bill Clinton is expected to make a decision soon on the next move.

The State Committee for Cooperation and Investment has licensed 863 foreign investment projects with a total approved capital of nearly \$7.46 billion over the six years from 1987 through 1993.

The committee said foreign investment has

grown at an average rate of 51.6 percent a year since 1989. Last year alone, 260 projects were licensed with total approved capital of \$2.8 billion.

Initially, most of the foreign investment was for oil exploitation and construction of hotels, the committee added. But last year, investment

In an effort to attract foreigners, Vietnam is passing laws to make it easier for a free market economy to operate.

in industrial production, including cement and steel, rose to 45 percent of the total registered capital.

Vietnam's outlook for foreign investment brightened over the weekend as a number of new arrivals were reported.

A Hong Kong company is joining a Vietnamese consortium to build a \$45 million commercial center in Saigon, also known as Ho Chi Minh City. A contract has been signed between the Hong Kong-based New Vietnam Development

& Investment Co. and the Ben Thanh Tourist Service of Ho Chi Minh City to build a 24-story deluxe hotel, a large parking lot, an apartment complex and a trade center with recreation facilities.

The Hong Kong company will own 70 percent of the project. Despite the continued U.S. embargo, 10 American companies are among the 250 bidders seeking to repair dilapidated Highway 1, which links Hanoi to Saigon, a local newspaper reported.

The \$278.5 million repair job is to be financed by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. U.S. companies were given permission by Washington last month to participate in such internationally funded projects.

Five U.S. companies are in the running to repair a 279 kilometer (173-mile) section linking Hanoi to Vinh and a 151 kilometer part from Ho Chi Minh City south to Can Tho, the Lao Dong reported.

Two others are competing to rebuild a third 450 kilometer stretch between Nha Trang and Ho Chi Minh City.

In another indication of growing U.S. interest, the accounting firm Deloitte Touche Tomatsu International is opening an office next month, a trade official said.

## VW Accuses SEAT's Ex-Chief Of Deception

The Associated Press

MADRID — Volkswagen AG's chairman has said that the German automaker's troubled Spanish unit, SEAT SA, deceived it last year by withholding an internal audit showing losses much higher than reported to Volkswagen's board.

The chairman, Ferdinand Piëch, made the assertion in an interview published Sunday by the Spanish daily newspaper El Pais.

Mr. Piëch said Volkswagen was considering legal action against the former management of SEAT. Sociedad Española de Automóviles de Turismo, pending an investigation by outside auditors.

"I'm risking my job here due to the big, unexpected losses like the ones at SEAT," Mr. Piëch said in the interview at Volkswagen headquarters in Wolfsburg, Germany. "And you can be sure I didn't cause them."

He said Volkswagen had discovered that SEAT's losses and restructuring "cost 20 times more" than what the man who was then chairman, Juan Antonio Diaz Alvarez, had reported to Wolfsburg. Mr. Piëch estimated a recovery plan for SEAT will cost 182 billion pesetas (\$1.36 billion).

Volkswagen named Juan Llorens as SEAT's chairman last fall to replace Mr. Diaz Alvarez.

The German automaker last month approved plans to lay off 9,000 of SEAT's 22,400 employees over three years and close its Zona Franca factory in Barcelona.

Production will be moved to a new plant at nearby Martorell. Volkswagen's board agreed to pump in 1.4 billion Deutsche marks (\$812 million) to increase capacity at the new plant.

Mr. Piëch said VW investigators had found that a SEAT report predicting a 1993 loss of 80 billion pesetas "disappeared," while SEAT's management told VW's board last June that the Spanish unit would lose only 12 billion pesetas.

Mr. Piëch also accused SEAT of painting a rosy picture by setting production targets above SEAT's plant capacity, basing plans on "impossible" profit margins on car

sales, and making forecasts based on favorable shifts in exchange rates.

"All these things are in part bad management, and in part, criminal practices," Mr. Piëch said. "And all of this together points to the number one executive, while he was there."

## Bonn Aide Sees Hope for Jobs in '95

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

FRANKFURT — Economics Minister Günter Rexrodt said on Sunday that unemployment would increase in Germany this year but the trend would reverse in 1995.

According to the text of a television interview, Mr. Rexrodt said: "The year 1994 will be a hard year with higher unemployment."

"I assume this trend can be expected to change in '95." Pressure on the job market would ease next year, he said, because restructuring measures taken by companies would be advanced or finished by then, and the East German job market would enjoy an upturn.

The number of unemployed West Germans rose to 2,494,000 in December, the highest figure for that month in postwar history. The unemployment rate was 8.1 percent.

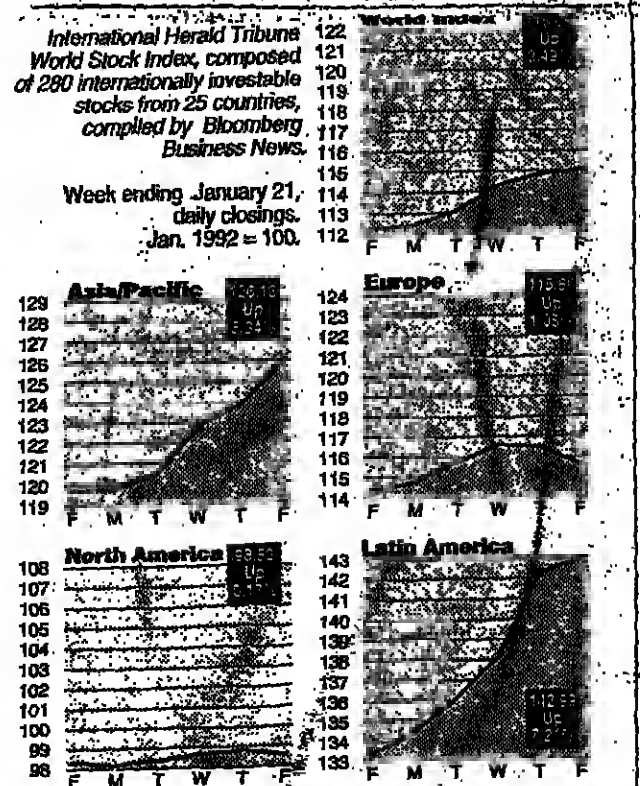
In Eastern Germany, the jobs total rose to 1.18 million, giving a rate there of 15.4 percent.

Another member of the Bonn government, Finance Minister Theo Waigel, was quoted over the weekend as saying that 5 billion Deutsche marks (\$2.85 billion) in savings would have to be found in the federal budget in 1995.

Mr. Waigel was quoted in Bild am Sonntag as saying: "Just like this year, the 1995 budget I will be presenting in July will have to include extra savings" beyond the 1994 finance law voted by the legislature at the end of last year.

(Reuters, AFP)

## THE TRIB INDEX



Industrial Sectors/Weekend close			
	12/24	1/4/94	% change
Energy	114.58	111.80	-2.39
Utilities	125.04	121.52	-2.87
Finance	119.54	114.52	-4.28
Services	123.04	119.63	-2.85
Capital Goods	112.75	111.91	-0.75
Raw Materials	120.23	118.39	-1.53
Consumer Goods	100.16	100.16	0.00
Machinery	109.31	109.02	-0.26

The index tracks U.S. dollar values of stocks in Tokyo, New York, London, and Amsterdam, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Venezuela. For Tokyo, New York and London, the index is composed of the 30 top issues in terms of market capitalization; otherwise the top 10 stocks are tracked.

## CURRENCY RATES

Cross Rates									
	Jan. 21	Jan. 20	Jan. 19	Jan. 18	Jan. 17	Jan. 16	Jan. 15	Jan. 14	Jan. 13
Australia	1.35	1.35	1.35	1.35	1.35	1.35	1.35	1.35	1.35
Canada	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75
France	6.55	6.55	6.55	6.55	6.55	6.55	6.55	6.55	6.55
Germany	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36
Italy	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36	1.36
Japan	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00
UK	1.64	1.64	1.64	1.64	1.64	1.64	1.64	1.64	1.64
Switzerland	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48	1.48
Sweden	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40	8.40
Spain	166.36	166.36	166.36	166.36	166.36	166.36	166.36	166.36	166.36
South Africa	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00	10.00
South Korea	170.00	170.00	170.00	170.00	170.00	170.00	170.00	170.00	170.00
Taiwan	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00
Thailand	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00	50.00
US Dollar	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
Yen	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00	109.00
Other Currencies									

## Taipei Notebook

### The Sweet Smell Of Illegal Smoke

Perhaps only in Taipei would Western tobacco salesmen battling a local monopoly urge the government to allow even more competitors into their small and static share of the market.

But foreign cigarette companies reckon it may be the only way to compete with Taiwan's hottest brand, Mild Sevens, smuggled in from Japan by way of Hong Kong, and other duty-free ports.

Taiwan authorities estimate that smugglers are landing 40 shipping containers of illegal cigarettes each month, about 20 million packs. This entrepreneurial display is costing the government about 4 billion Taiwan dollars (\$153 million) in lost tax revenues each year.

"Anything legal, Taiwanese people pay no attention to it," said David Chen, a spokesman for the Tobacco Institute of Taiwan, a lobby group for foreign importers. "But if it's illegal, they have to have it."

Such is the attraction of smuggled Mild Sevens that smokers will pay about \$2.20 for a pack of black-market cigarettes compared with \$1.40 for other imported brands and about \$0.85 for a pack of Long Lifes, the dominant local brand.

Taipei bans the sale of Japanese-made cigarettes — a response to a perennial trade deficit with Japan — but Mild Sevens made in Europe are legally available in Taiwan.

Of course, they can't really compete with illegal imports notable by their lack of health warnings and tax stamps.

Sino-Taiwan opened its tobacco market in 1987, the state's Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau has maintained a 75 percent market share.

But the incentive of a \$200,000 profit per smuggled 40-foot (12-meter) container has helped contraband cigarettes take a 14 percent market share, leaving the remaining 11 percent to legitimate importers.

The American exporters' response is to highlight Taipei's lost tax revenues from lax controls and to urge that restrictions on Japanese-made cigarettes be dropped.

7,102 Ex-Clients

The concept of client-broker confidentiality took a battering in a Taipei court recently. According to local newspapers, Huang Wan-chih, a director of

Yung An Investment Co. who is being investigated for his involvement in banking irregularities, accused 7,102 other people of investment misbehavior.

"To ease his burden, he pointed the finger at more than 7,000 other investors and investment officials," Taipei's China News reported. "As a result he has made a large number of enemies."

### The Captain's Body

Arms dealing and Taiwan can be an unhealthy mix, as French companies and Taipei newspaper readers have learned.

After Paris allowed a few squadrons of Mirage fighter planes to be sold to Taipei last year, French businessmen found themselves persona non grata in Beijing.

Selling arms to Taiwan is a fast way to poor commercial relations with Beijing, which France — after closing the Mirage sale — now acknowledges. Pledging no repeat of such sales, France apparently is again a friend of China.

Beijing's next candidate for blacklisting may emerge from a complex murder investigation that is captivating Taiwan.

Captain Yin Chin-feng, a weapons procurement specialist in Taiwan's navy, left the Lai Lai Soybean Milk shop in the Neihu area on the morning of Dec. 9 and was not again seen alive; his body washed up on a nearby beach the next day.

Police say Captain Yin was apparently preparing to reveal irregularities in deals in which \$400 million worth of German submarines and minesweeper parts are alleged to have been involved.

Also, in the course of the investigation, local reports say three Navy officers confessed to taking bribes to ensure that a \$45 million contract to build surveillance ships went to an state-owned Italian shipyard.

The search for Captain Yin's killer continues, as do revelations about the murky side of Taiwan's arms purchases.

When questioned in Taiwan's legislature, Defense Minister Sun Chen said weapons procurement systems were beyond his ministry's control, passing the buck to President Lee Teng-hui's office.

Kevin Murphy



"Some ventures require a rather unconstrained environment."

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WORLD STOCKS IN

### Canadian Dollars

Teacher	Class	Math	Science	Physical	Spelling
Abbey Tye	1st	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	2nd	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	3rd	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	4th	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	5th	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	6th	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	7th	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	8th	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	9th	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	10th	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	11th	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	12th	98%	98%	98%	98%
Abbey Tye	13th	98%	98%	98%	98%
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Abbey Tye	82nd	98%	98%	98%	98%
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Abbey Tye	100th	98%	98%	98%	98%

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Grain	Price	Yield	Yield
Wheat	1.25	1.25	1.25
Barley	1.10	1.10	1.10
Oats	1.00	1.00	1.00
Rye	1.15	1.15	1.15
Tritic	1.20	1.20	1.20
Flour	1.30	1.30	1.30
Feed	1.40	1.40	1.40
Hay	1.50	1.50	1.50
Straw	1.60	1.60	1.60
Stalks	1.70	1.70	1.70
Wheat	1.25	1.25	1.25
Barley	1.10	1.10	1.10
Oats	1.00	1.00	1.00
Rye	1.15	1.15	1.15
Tritic	1.20	1.20	1.20
Flour	1.30	1.30	1.30
Feed	1.40	1.40	1.40
Hay	1.50	1.50	1.50
Straw	1.60	1.60	1.60
Stalks	1.70	1.70	1.70
Wheat	1.25	1.25	1.25
Barley	1.10	1.10	1.10
Oats	1.00	1.00	1.00
Rye	1.15	1.15	1.15
Tritic	1.20	1.20	1.20
Flour	1.30	1.30	1.30
Feed	1.40	1.40	1.40
Hay	1.50	1.50	1.50
Straw	1.60	1.60	1.60
Stalks	1.70	1.70	1.70

IDAQ NATIONAL

Sales in	100s	High	Low	Close	Net
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A		B		C		D		E		F		G		H		I		J		K		L		M		N		O		P		Q		R		S		T		U		V		W		X		Y		Z	
AP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	
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AP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	
AP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	
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AP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	
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AP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	
AP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	
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AP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30																					

[illegible][illegible]

10	40	5' 10"	170	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	High School	Catholic	Married	2	1234 Main St	Chicago	Ill	60601
10	35	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	5678 Oak St	Chicago	Ill	60602
10	45	6' 0"	180	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Engineer	College	Catholic	Married	3	9012 Elm St	Chicago	Ill	60603
10	30	5' 3"	110	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Secretary	High School	Catholic	Married	1	3456 Pine St	Chicago	Ill	60604
10	50	5' 8"	160	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	7890 Maple St	Chicago	Ill	60605
10	25	5' 4"	115	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	1122 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60606
10	42	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	4567 Cedar St	Chicago	Ill	60607
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	8901 Hickory St	Chicago	Ill	60608
10	55	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	2345 Walnut St	Chicago	Ill	60609
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	6789 Spruce St	Chicago	Ill	60610
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	1011 Ash St	Chicago	Ill	60611
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	3210 Sycamore St	Chicago	Ill	60612
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	5432 Chestnut St	Chicago	Ill	60613
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	7654 Olive St	Chicago	Ill	60614
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	9876 Poplar St	Chicago	Ill	60615
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	1234 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60616
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	5678 Oak St	Chicago	Ill	60617
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	9012 Elm St	Chicago	Ill	60618
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	3456 Pine St	Chicago	Ill	60619
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	7890 Maple St	Chicago	Ill	60620
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	1122 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60621
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	4567 Cedar St	Chicago	Ill	60622
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	8901 Hickory St	Chicago	Ill	60623
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	2345 Walnut St	Chicago	Ill	60624
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	6789 Spruce St	Chicago	Ill	60625
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	1011 Ash St	Chicago	Ill	60626
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	3210 Sycamore St	Chicago	Ill	60627
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	5432 Chestnut St	Chicago	Ill	60628
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	7654 Olive St	Chicago	Ill	60629
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	9876 Poplar St	Chicago	Ill	60630
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	1234 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60631
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	5678 Oak St	Chicago	Ill	60632
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	9012 Elm St	Chicago	Ill	60633
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	3456 Pine St	Chicago	Ill	60634
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	7890 Maple St	Chicago	Ill	60635
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	1122 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60636
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	4567 Cedar St	Chicago	Ill	60637
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	8901 Hickory St	Chicago	Ill	60638
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	2345 Walnut St	Chicago	Ill	60639
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	6789 Spruce St	Chicago	Ill	60640
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	1011 Ash St	Chicago	Ill	60641
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	3210 Sycamore St	Chicago	Ill	60642
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	5432 Chestnut St	Chicago	Ill	60643
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	7654 Olive St	Chicago	Ill	60644
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	9876 Poplar St	Chicago	Ill	60645
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	1234 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60646
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	5678 Oak St	Chicago	Ill	60647
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	9012 Elm St	Chicago	Ill	60648
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	3456 Pine St	Chicago	Ill	60649
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	7890 Maple St	Chicago	Ill	60650
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	1122 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60651
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	4567 Cedar St	Chicago	Ill	60652
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	8901 Hickory St	Chicago	Ill	60653
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	2345 Walnut St	Chicago	Ill	60654
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	6789 Spruce St	Chicago	Ill	60655
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	1011 Ash St	Chicago	Ill	60656
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	3210 Sycamore St	Chicago	Ill	60657
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	5432 Chestnut St	Chicago	Ill	60658
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	7654 Olive St	Chicago	Ill	60659
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	9876 Poplar St	Chicago	Ill	60660
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	1234 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60661
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	5678 Oak St	Chicago	Ill	60662
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	9012 Elm St	Chicago	Ill	60663
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	3456 Pine St	Chicago	Ill	60664
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	7890 Maple St	Chicago	Ill	60665
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	1122 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60666
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	4567 Cedar St	Chicago	Ill	60667
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	8901 Hickory St	Chicago	Ill	60668
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	2345 Walnut St	Chicago	Ill	60669
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	6789 Spruce St	Chicago	Ill	60670
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	1011 Ash St	Chicago	Ill	60671
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	3210 Sycamore St	Chicago	Ill	60672
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	5432 Chestnut St	Chicago	Ill	60673
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	7654 Olive St	Chicago	Ill	60674
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	9876 Poplar St	Chicago	Ill	60675
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	1234 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60676
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	5678 Oak St	Chicago	Ill	60677
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	9012 Elm St	Chicago	Ill	60678
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	3456 Pine St	Chicago	Ill	60679
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	7890 Maple St	Chicago	Ill	60680
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	1122 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60681
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	4567 Cedar St	Chicago	Ill	60682
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	8901 Hickory St	Chicago	Ill	60683
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	2345 Walnut St	Chicago	Ill	60684
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	6789 Spruce St	Chicago	Ill	60685
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	1011 Ash St	Chicago	Ill	60686
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	3210 Sycamore St	Chicago	Ill	60687
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Homemaker	High School	Catholic	Married	2	5432 Chestnut St	Chicago	Ill	60688
10	58	5' 7"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	7654 Olive St	Chicago	Ill	60689
10	28	5' 2"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Teacher	College	Catholic	Single	0	9876 Poplar St	Chicago	Ill	60690
10	48	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Manager	College	Catholic	Married	2	1234 Birch St	Chicago	Ill	60691
10	33	5' 5"	120	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Nurse	College	Catholic	Married	1	5678 Oak St	Chicago	Ill	60692
10	53	5' 8"	155	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Retired	College	Catholic	Married	3	9012 Elm St	Chicago	Ill	60693
10	23	5' 3"	105	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Student	College	Catholic	Single	0	3456 Pine St	Chicago	Ill	60694
10	43	5' 9"	165	Fair	Black	Blue	Good	Medium	Driver	High School	Catholic	Married	1	7890 Maple St	Chicago	Ill	60695
10	38	5' 6"	125	Fair	Black	Blue	Good										

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# MONDAY SPORTS

## SCOREBOARD

### NBA Standings

#### EASTERN CONFERENCE

##### Atlantic Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
New York	24	10	.706	—
Orlando	23	11	.676	1
New Jersey	20	14	.588	4
Philadelphia	17	17	.500	7
Washington	13	21	.386	11

##### Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Chicago	26	10	.722	—
Cleveland	22	14	.611	4
Indiana	21	15	.580	5
Atlanta	17	19	.472	9
Charlotte	13	23	.361	13

##### Western Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Portland	27	9	.750	—
Utah	26	10	.722	1
San Antonio	21	15	.580	4
Phoenix	19	17	.528	6
Golden State	17	19	.472	8

##### Pacific Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Seattle	26	10	.722	—
Los Angeles	25	11	.694	1
San Diego	21	15	.580	4
Portland	19	17	.528	6
Golden State	17	19	.472	8

#### WESTERN CONFERENCE

##### Midwest Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Minnesota	27	9	.750	—
San Antonio	26	10	.722	1
Phoenix	21	15	.580	4
Golden State	19	17	.528	6
Portland	17	19	.472	8

##### Southwest Division

Team	W	L	Pct	GB
Los Angeles	26	10	.722	—
San Diego	25	11	.694	1
Phoenix	21	15	.580	4
Golden State	19	17	.528	6
Portland	17	19	.472	8

#### FRIDAY'S RESULTS

Game	Score
Orlando 84, New York 77	
San Antonio 84, Dallas 77	
Phoenix 84, Los Angeles 77	
Golden State 84, Portland 77	
Seattle 84, San Diego 77	

#### SATURDAY'S RESULTS

Game	Score
Orlando 84, New York 77	
San Antonio 84, Dallas 77	
Phoenix 84, Los Angeles 77	
Golden State 84, Portland 77	
Seattle 84, San Diego 77	

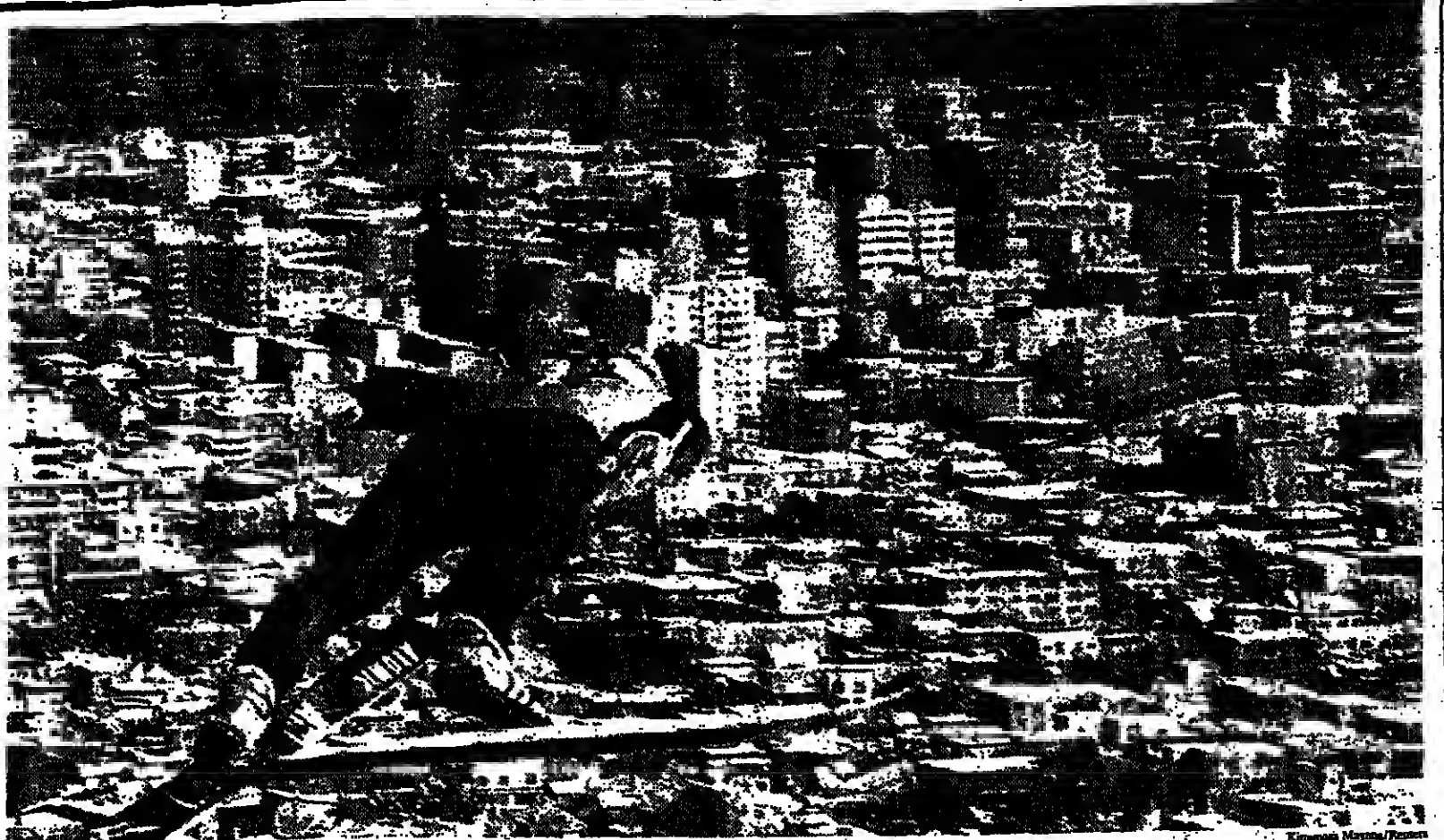
### Major College Scores

#### EAST

Game	Score
Orlando 84, New York 77	
San Antonio 84, Dallas 77	
Phoenix 84, Los Angeles 77	
Golden State 84, Portland 77	
Seattle 84, San Diego 77	

#### WEST

Game	Score
Orlando 84, New York 77	
San Antonio 84, Dallas 77	
Phoenix 84, Los Angeles 77	
Golden State 84, Portland 77	
Seattle 84, San Diego 77	



WORLD VIEW — Norway's Hein Arne Mathisen soaring Sunday in a World Cup jumping event in Sapporo, Japan, but Jens Weissflog of Germany was the winner.

### OLYMPIC SPORTS

#### World Cup Skiing

##### WOMEN'S SLALOM

Rank	Name	Time
1	Therese Johaug, Norway	1:28.13
2	Marionne Kroemer, Switzerland	1:28.13
3	Marionne Kroemer, Switzerland	1:28.13

##### WOMEN'S SLALOM

Rank	Name	Time
1	Therese Johaug, Norway	1:28.13
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### WOMEN'S SLALOM

#### World Cup Skiing

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